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THE Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

THE CONFERENCE.

A common phrase describes the distinctive impression made by the Liberation Society's Triennial Conference held this week, as compared with others that have preceded it. It "looked like business." We do not for a moment insinuate that the proceedings of former assemblies of the kind have been unbusiness-like; nor was there any lack of the symptoms of popular enthusiasm in the present. But from the first word of Mr. Chamberlain's opening speech to the end of the sittings, the gathering was characterised by a tone of feeling at once confident and deliberative, such as manifestly implied a unanimous conviction that the time for argument about abstract principles was past, and that only practical methods of procedure now remained to be considered. Indeed, Mr. Chamberlain struck the true keynote at once when he pointed out that the real question now was not disestablishment but disendowment; and he intimated plainly that the former was neither to be desired nor pressed until some practicable plan of accomplishing the latter was so far matured as to bear popular and Parliamentary discussion. And as the feeling of the meeting was developed, it became clear that all other matters, even the Burials Bill and the triumphs of Ritualism, were for the time, of quite secondary interest as compared with the more permanent issue. The lucid, succinct, and telling report of the Secretary showed clearly how the very disasters of the Liberal party, amidst which the last Conference had met, led to the new line of action resulting in the appointment of a Special Committee on Disendowment. The lively and forcible speech of Mr. Henry Richard, after some good-humoured satire on Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Matthew Arnold, wound up with an energetic enforcement of the duty of Liberal constituencies to regard the Church question as a matter of practical politics.

But there was an unmistakeable eagerness of anticipation which hurried the thoughts of all toward the evening sitting of Tuesday, when for the first time definite suggestions were put forth on the subject of disendowment by a committee of the most powerful political league at present in existence. The history of this committee and its suggestions is too well known to our readers to require reiteration. It was appointed in response to numerous demands for some distinct proposals with reference to Church property. Its first business was to collect information. And this information has been embodied at its request in a very careful and valuable pamphlet by Mr. Frederick Martin, author of the "Statesman's Year-Book." Its next duty was to found upon this information some suggestions, not as to the details, but as to the principles of disendowment. And the main point of interest on Tuesday evening was to hear these suggestions read. Mr. Illingworth, the chairman of the sitting, was very careful to impress upon all concerned the tentative character of the proposals. He strongly insisted that the Society was not to be regarded as finally committed to all the points laid down. And by a unanimous resolution of the meeting it was agreed to receive the paper for information only, and to relegate discussion to local centres.

As to the scheme of disendowment laid down, we shall, for this week at least, imitate the discretion of the meeting so far as to abstain from any but the most general remarks; and those shall only concern what we take to be vital points. Our readers have the proposals before them, and they will find ample food for reflection therein without any comments of ours. But for some adverse criticisms we feel bound to prepare them. The paper might be entitled, "Suggestions for securing this country against the jobbery, corruption, mismanagement, and squabbles generated by certain mistakes in the Irish Church Act." And it is precisely in regard to the different mode here proposed for dealing with the hypothetical, and yet unborn, Episcopalian denomination in England, that anathemas both loud and deep are sure to be evoked. Amid such execrations many of our milder-mannered friends will be more than half-disposed to question the expediency of raising such a storm just now. All we wish to do is to offer suggestions which may help them to see things in a right light.

It is tolerably certain now that the Irish surplus is likely to be an illustration of the proverb, "Much cry and little wool." The clergy have howled as though they were being flayed; but it turns out that they have received rather at the public expense a sort of extra-padded "Ulster" to protect them, more securely than even their still Established brethren in England, against the contingencies of life. The property of posterity has been muddled away to make the "Church Body" comfortable; and, after all, it appears that the Church Body is the reverse of comfortable, and very ill at ease in itself. The State dealt with the new-born denomination as Saul wanted to do with the stripling David. It loaded it with armour of law and constitution, that now hampers all its movements; and the emancipated Church had not, like David, the sense to decline. Now we deprecate the repetition of this process in England. The interests concerned are altogether on a greater scale than in the Sister Island, and the mischief of mistake would be proportionably vaster. Mr. F. Martin, in the pamphlet of which we have spoken above, computes the total annual revenue applied to ecclesiastical purposes in this country to be close on seven millions and a quarter. We doubt whether the "reserve lands" in the United States, so often envied by educationists here, produce anything like this. We imagine no other nation ever had such an inheritance available for the higher purposes of national existence. And are we to muddle this away by a wretched jugglery of "commuting, compounding, and cutting," until the birthright of the children of the next century is locked up in Ritualistic churches, lavished in gold-embroidered vestments, or puffed away in incense? This is not a question of generosity; it is one of justice. It is not ourselves we wrong by indolent good nature, but the England of all ages to come. Now it is as certain as anything can be, where human nature is concerned, that if the nation takes to negotiating with a "Church Body," especially a body of its own creation, instead of the individual servants whom it no longer requires, the Irish abuses will be reproduced in England with tenfold worse effects. Therefore, we hold the suggestions we are considering to be most wise and statesmanlike in their insistance that all compensation is to go to individuals, and that no national responsibility shall be accepted either for creating, or endowing, or giving, a constitution to any "Church Body." The Free Church of Scotland could organise itself without State help. The English Episcopalians will have more notice, and are certainly not worse off as a class in regard to this world's goods. Let them show that they are equally rich in faith.

Let it be carefully borne in mind that there is absolutely no such thing at the present moment known to law, as the Church of England apart from the nation of England. Now, when the nation shakes off its ecclesiastical gear, why should it be regarded as a national duty to invent and constitute a Church to pick it up? If it be said that the Episcopalians have not the unity of faith that is possessed by the Scotch Church, and are sure therefore to be split up into sects, we can only reply that we are sorry for it, but that really we do not understand their differences well enough to arrange their quarrels for them. If their traditions are as ancient and as strong as they say they are; if their polity is as apostolical as they say it is; if their parochial arrangements in regard to clerical duty are the perfection of ecclesiastical machinery as they profess they are—why, then they have everything ready to hand. They will only want money to make everything go on as before. Nay, they will hardly want that so long as the generation of State pensioners endures. The Free Churches raise altogether about six millions a year. And if the far richer Episcopalians cannot by voluntary contributions replace their seven millions by the end of the century, we shall pity their want of faith and zeal, but not their extinction.

THE LORDS' DEBATE ON THE BURIALS BILL.

Lord Granville's amendment was, of course, rejected by the House of Lords; but the victory thus gained was of that kind which is equivalent to a defeat. The Upper House is proverbially the stronghold of Toryism, and although the ability displayed of late years in its debates has gone far to lessen general dissatisfaction with the anomaly of hereditary legislators—a dissatisfaction which in not very remote times more than once threatened a grave constitutional crisis—yet it remains true that the Toryism of that august assembly represents the feelings only of a small, though doubtless very influential, minority of the nation. Under a Conservative Ministry with a strong, unreasoning, and unhesitating majority in the Commons, the Toryism of the House of Lords of course appears in undisguised and

undiluted strength. Yet in this House, the Acropolis of resistance to all reform, Lord Granville's case was felt to be so strong and unanswerable, that all the argument was on one side; and if the majority was on the other this was only because the supremacy of a Tory, Ministry was felt to be even more sacred than the claims of logic, justice, and charity combined.

In dealing with a question so thoroughly thrashed out as this has been, it was impossible for Lord Granville to advance any novel arguments. Nevertheless old ones were presented with a freshness and earnestness that manifestly made a deep impression. The noble lord successfully defended the somewhat unusual course he had taken, and showed that so far from his amendment being necessarily destructive of the bill, it was only by the embodiment of that amendment in the measure before the House that it could have the slightest prospect of effecting such a final settlement of the question as was proposed. The most novel point raised was perhaps the prospect of fresh disputes and confusion opened up by the contemptuous permission of silent burials without any provision to secure that silence should be observed. His lordship showed that the only power by which unauthorised additions to the burial service by others than the clergyman could now be prevented was a strained application of the law against "brawling"; but he doubted, and with apparently good ground, whether, in the absence of the clergyman, as expressly provided for in the present bill, any such application of the law could be possible. This view was supported by the great authority of Lord Selborne, who, adverting to the open disobedience of clergymen in the matter of religious observances, asked with grave significance how the Government in such circumstances would dare to enforce the obedience of laymen and Dissenters, if they scrupled to accept the silent burial of a relative or friend, and asserted their liberty of speech and prayer within the precincts of the churchyard.

The sole attempt at real argument against the amendment was made by Lord Salisbury, and its poverty, coming from a man of distinguished abilities, only served to show how hopeless the case was. His reference to the alternative of a silent burial allowed by Mr. Osborne Morgan, and formerly proposed by Lord Granville, served indeed to point the taunt that "the noble lord had cited Sir John Nichol to show that his own proposal was a gross indecency;" but it had no other point. For this alternative, as allowed by Mr. Osborne Morgan, is only one of several, and is absolutely necessary to meet the case of Quakers, who permit no utterance except what springs from the spontaneous and unanticipated impulse of the moment, the result being that their funerals are oftener silent than otherwise. The position taken by the bishops, who marched into the House with a weariness of Convocation and its impracticable wrangles hanging heavily upon their right reverend faces, was most significant. Only two of them, and those by no means the most influential, dared to refuse all hope of compromise on the lines laid down by Lord Granville. The Bishop of Oxford spoke and voted for the amendment; and both of the archbishops spoke in its favour, though they voted against it. Since the intercession of the Jewish rulers for the Roman centurion, on the ground that "he loveth our nation and hath built us a synagogue," there has rarely been a more touching instance of the readiness of ecclesiastics to condone heresy when blessed with a liberal purse and a tendency to church-building, than the reference of the Primate to the case of Sir Morton Peto. That it should be necessary for a father, who had actually "built a church and given a churchyard," to carry his daughter's corpse away from the scene of his benefaction to a great distance, that she might receive Christian burial, was, he frankly admitted, "a scandal to the Church of England." Perhaps, if it were fairly put to him, the good archbishop would allow that ability and willinghood to a build church are not essential conditions for the exhibition of Christian charity. Another telling point made by the most reverend prelate in favour of the amendment against which he voted was his description of the religious consolation which the suffering miners in Wales found in the hymns of Moody and Sankey; and he intimated that the denial of anything but a silent burial to the poor crushed boy, who belonged to the Baptist denomination, would have been a disgrace against which "human nature would cry out." The archbishop, being well skilled in Presbyterian traditions, seemed to think that he made a point on the other side by citing John Knox's book of discipline in favour of silent funerals; he, however, doubtless remembered that a good deal has happened since John Knox's day, for he hastened to add that he was by no means anxious that this system should be introduced more largely into England. And he promptly reverted to the opposite point of view, when he called to mind the case of "an eminent Greek merchant in London," who had been buried in consecrated ground, "with great ceremony, according to the rites of the Greek Church." In the goodness of his heart, the Primate was unable to draw any distinction between the case of an eminent Greek merchant and that of "a poor Greek dying at Shoreditch." We are sure that a poor Baptist child dying in Bethnal-green would have not less of his sympathy. As to the archbishop's notion that the case might be met by giving the liberty of using an alternative service to the clergyman of the parish, or his ordained deputy, and to no one else, we are sure he is quite as much aware of its futility as we are.

It is to be observed that throughout the whole debate no one openly took the ground that public opinion is becoming impatient and disgusted at the miserable and impious imposition of sectarian distinctions on the human sorrow which darkens the shores of eternity. The Duke of Somerset came nearest to it when he asked, with a touch of indignation, whether their lordships really "thought they could carry out the Bill in the country with public opinion what it was"? And a diminished majority in the very stronghold of impracticable Toryism answered that question somewhat emphatically in the negative.

CONGREGATIONAL UNION MEETINGS.—The annual meetings of the Union will take place next week. On Monday evening, at half-past six, the business meeting will be held at the Memorial Hall, when the report for the year will be submitted, and the Rev. J. Baldwin Brown, B.A., be proposed as chairman for 1878. On Tuesday morning the Assembly will meet in Westminster Chapel (James-street), at half-past nine, and after a devotional service the chairman (Mr. Richard, M.P.), will deliver the inaugural address. A report of the special committee on intemperance will be submitted, and a resolution thereon proposed. Other resolutions relating to the opium trade with China, and to the Government Burials Bill, will also be discussed. On Friday morning the Assembly will meet in the Memorial Hall, at ten o'clock, for the consideration of the aggressive work of the churches. Papers on the subject will be read by the Rev. J. A. Macfadyen, M.A., of Manchester, and the Rev. John Foster, of Clapham, and discussion is invited. At half-past six o'clock, a public meeting for the enforcement of Free Church principles, in relation to questions of the day, will be held in the large hall, presided over by Mr. Alderman Barran, M.P., and addresses will be delivered by the Revs. J. Guinness Rogers, B.A., D. Jones Hamer, of Manchester, and Alexander Mackennal, of Bowden.

IN CONSUMPTION AND DISEASES OF THE CHEST THE EFFICACY OF DR. DE JONGH'S LIGHT-BROWN COD LIVER OIL IS UNEQUALLED.—The Medical Profession of all countries now consider Dr. de Jongh's Light-Brown Cod Liver Oil is incomparably the most valuable remedy for Consumption and Diseases of the Chest No remedy so rapidly restores the exhausted strength, improves the nutritive functions, stops emaciation, checks the perspiration, quiets the cough and expectoration, or produces a more marked and favourable influence on the local malady. Dr. Waudby, physician to the Hereford Infirmary, writes:—"I can take Dr. de Jongh's Light-Brown Cod Liver Oil without any difficulty or dislike, and with as little inconvenience as water alone. Not only in my own case, but in many others I have seen, it has caused an improvement of chest symptoms and an increase of weight, so soon and so lastingly as to be quite remarkable. I believe Dr. de Jongh's Oil to be the most valuable remedy we possess for chronic and constitutional disease." Dr. de Jongh's Light-Brown Cod Liver Oil is sold only in capsuled imperial half-pints, 2s. 6d.; pints, 4s. 9d.; quarts, 9s.; with his stamp and signature and the signature of his sole consignees on the label under wrapper, by all respectable chemists. Sole consignees, Ansar, Harford, and Co., 77, Strand, London.—[ADVT.]

ELEVENTH TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE OF THE LIBERATION SOCIETY.

FIRST SITTING—TUESDAY.

The Eleventh Triennial Conference of this society was held in the Large Room of the Cannon-street Hotel on Tuesday and Wednesday (yesterday). The number of delegates appointed, both by public bodies and from various towns in England, Wales, and Scotland, exceeded that of any previous conference, amounting, we believe, to about twelve hundred. A prayer-meeting, presided over by the Rev. J. P. Chown, and attended by many members, was held in one of the rooms before the opening of the conference. The first sitting took place on Tuesday morning, and when the proceedings commenced the large hall was crowded with delegates. The Chairman, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., who was received with enthusiastic applause, took the chair at eleven o'clock. Around him on the platform were many of the old founders and leaders of the Anti-State-Church Association. Amongst these, and others who were present, were Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., Mr. E. Miall, Messrs. E. T. Gourley, M.P., C. H. Hopwood, M.P., J. J. Coleman, M.P., G. Whalley, M.P., J. D. Huchinson, M.P., Duncan M'Laren, M.P., T. Blake, M.P., Sir H. Havelock, Bart., M.P., E. Jenkins, M.P., Messrs. A. Illingworth, H. R. Ellington, E. S. Robinson, Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley, Stafford Allen, Henry Lee, William Edwards, J. B. Firth, J. Craven, G. Dawbarn, Samuel Watts, W. D. Hertz, J. Carvell Williams, John Morley, Dr. Weymouth, Peter Bayne, Fredk. Harrison, Joseph Arch, Professor Massie, J. Templeton, F.G.S., W. Baines, T. G. Roberts, Henry Spicer, G. C. Whitely, P. Crellin, A. H. Haggis, C. S. Miall, R. Pullar, H. S. Skeats, Dr. E. B. Underhill, F. Schnadhorst, J. Jull, H. S. Leonard, J. Fisher, A. Coote, J. M. Hare, H. M. Heath, Thomas Michael, A. J. Shepheard, P. P. Perry, G. F. Whitely, J.P., Andrew Dunn, B. L. Green, Chas. Watt, R. S. Serpell, J. C. Cox, G. H. Baines, A. Goodliffe, R. Milligan, A. Boothroyd, T. Pidduck, Jas. Clarke, G. May, S. R. Pattison, George Potter, J. A. Picton, A. H. Baynes, D. Guile, T. G. Grundy, W. Bond, A. Bowser, G. Pearson, and the Revs. Dr. Hutton, Dr. Edmond, A. Hannay, Dr. Robertson, R. Harley, F.R.S., J. H. Murray, LL.D., P. W. Clayden, T. Chatfeild Clarke, Rear-Admiral Maxse, C. M. Birrell, Geo. Gould, J. G. Rogers, W. Braden, H. W. Crosskey, R. Spears, J. H. Millard, J. J. Brown, T. Arnold, E. White, Arthur Mursell, C. Bailhache, R. H. Smith, G. S. Ingram, E. Dothie, F. M. Holmes, T. Michael, Bryan Dale, T. Penrose, S. Green, A. Norris, V. J. Charlesworth, R. Macbeth, D. Jones, J. McDougall, J. P. Chown, R. S. Ashton, B.A.; J. J. Goadby, G. M. Murphy, E. H. Delf, R. V. Pryce, Chas. Williams, J. G. Hughes, H. Ierson, W. Griffith, John Pillans, A. Mackennal, Dr. Morrison, S. H. Booth, J. B. Heard, J. T. Brown, Marmaduke Miller, S. Newth, J. R. Thompson, J. M. Phillippo, &c. Amongst those present were also the whole of the members of the official staff of the Society—whose names are now well known to our readers. A number of ladies occupied the galleries at either end of the hall.

Mr. GRIPPER, of Nottingham, moved, and Mr. BOOTHROYD, of Bradford, seconded, a motion that Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., should take the chair. This was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN said the first business was the appointment of secretaries to the conference. Mr. MCDOUGALL moved, and Mr. REYNER, of Ashton, seconded the appointment of Mr. Stanway Jackson, Mr. Percy Rawson, and Mr. J. Carvell Williams, which was carried unanimously.

CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH.

The CHAIRMAN, who was loudly cheered on rising, said: We meet to-day under circumstances which are calculated to test very severely the vitality of any movement and the enthusiasm of its supporters. For nearly two years the interests of peace have been trembling in the balance, and now at last war has broken out—a war of which, no doubt, we know the cause and the beginning, but the end and the results of which no man will dare to foretell. (Hear, hear.) We don't know how soon the energies of everyone of us, of every Englishman who desires that his country should not be mad e

instrumental in shielding from well-deserved retribution the most hideous tyranny—(applause)—that the world has ever seen—we know not how soon our energies may be strained to the uttermost to prevent those who would not lift a finger to save an oppressed people from outrage, from lavishing English blood and treasure in defence of the Ottoman Empire. (Cheers.) I confess so critical does the moment appear to me that I am inclined almost to suggest, although it might probably be a little out of order, that advantage should be taken of this meeting—(Hear, hear)—so national, so representative—at a time when it is necessary that the Liberal party should be united—in order to express our sympathy with Mr. Gladstone—(loud cheers and waving of hats)—in the efforts he is making to secure the better government of those oppressed provinces, and prevent the possibility of any English support being lent to the Turkish rule—and we may take the opportunity to assure him that, at least, he has not forfeited our confidence—(applause)—at a time when in the London clubs, and in the London Press, he is assured that he has lost all our sympathies. (Cries of "No, no.") Well, now, gentlemen, although there is much to regret in the European convulsion upon the eve of which we stand, we as Liberationists have no cause to be sorry that there will be a short pause in our activity. This will give us the opportunity of "taking stock," as it were, of our position, of showing what progress we have already accomplished, what distance we have yet to measure, and, above all, whether we are on the right tack—whether we are steering directly for our appointed port. Such an examination appears to me to be not at all unnecessary. We have been moving very quickly—the last few years quicker than perhaps some of us have admitted to ourselves. If you will take the trouble to compare the state of public opinion upon our question now with what what it was some ten years ago, you will see reason to be astonished as well as satisfied with the change. (Hear, hear.) Then our proposals might well have appeared a wild dream and speculation to many. Now, they are recognised on all hands as constituting the question of a not very distant future; a question which, no doubt, may be still further postponed, but the settlement of which cannot by possibility be avoided. (Cheers.) In spite of adverse circumstances, notwithstanding the fallen fortunes of the Liberal party, our question continually presses to the front. (Hear, hear.) Up to the last few days, at all events, you could not take up a Conservative newspaper, you could not read the account of a political gathering anywhere, without finding that the relations between Church and State forced themselves upon the attention of speakers and writers, as the head of King Charles the First intruded upon the memory of Mr. Dick—(laughter)—and the altered treatment of the subject is to my mind even more striking than the increased attention which it is receiving. The character of the defence has altogether changed. It is not uncommon to find our principles admitted even by our opponents, with more or less, perhaps, of qualification. The whole controversy tends more and more to become a question of expediency and policy rather than of principle. We find even the *Spectator* newspaper admitting that the Church of England is a very curious anomaly which no one would think of setting up afresh, although we are told that there is no reason for pulling it down. (Laughter.) The fact of its existence is made in this way to plead for its continuance. We are told we shall not be entitled to be successful unless we can show that this institution is doing more harm than good, and that it does not (to use the very singular expression of the article to which I have referred) generally "sweeten the religious life of the nation." (Laughter.) If that is all that is left for us to do, I don't think our task will be difficult of accomplishment. For my part, I hope I am never likely to deny the good which has been done by Churchmen. (Hear, hear.) I hope I am not the last to speak with admiration of the ability, self-sacrifice, and devotion of the majority of her ministers; but I decline altogether to carry their personal virtues to the credit of the Establishment to which they belong. (Applause.) I won't do them the injustice of supposing that they would be less able, or less amiable, if they were the members of a voluntary religious body. (Hear, hear.) On the other hand, I do impute to the institution, what I would never desire to charge to its members as individuals, a narrowness, a prejudice, and an obstructiveness which has made even the *Times* newspaper wind up an article containing a lengthened indictment against the State-Church, with these words:—"In fact, it is difficult to see what there is in the way of improvement and reform to which it has not been opposed." (Cheers.) And when we are asked to believe that this institution "sweetens the religious life of the nation," we are asked to take leave of our senses. (Laughter.) I won't dwell upon the way in which it separates Dissenters and Churchmen; I won't pause to consider the petty insults which have taken the place of actual injury, which is no longer in its power to inflict. (Applause.) I know, but I will not dwell upon the fact, that in many country villages the Dissenter is a sort of pariah, separated from his fellow-citizens belonging to the same Church from his birth to his grave, but I ask you to consider the dissensions within the Church itself. The Liberal party is a happy family compared to the state of the Church of England—(laughter)—torn as it is by internal dissensions and internecine strife. I thought at one time that I would write an essay on this subject which should be wholly composed of extracts which I have been collecting from the speeches and writings of Churchmen respecting the members of the body to which they belong, and I should call it the "Church of England as Painted by Her Sons," and I will undertake to say that it would contain an indictment fiercer and more bitter than anything which Nonconformists have ever attempted to frame. You know that the resources of theological vituperation are very extensive. (Laughter.) They have been exhausted in order that Churchmen might describe the character of their ecclesiastical superiors—the bishops and archbishops of the Church. You would find the High Church denying to the Low Church the very name of Christians; and the Low Church retaliating by stigmatising the High Church as idolaters; and both together agreeing that the Broad Church was altogether outside the pale of salvation—("Hear, hear," and laughter)—and these differences have led to what may be called a state of civil war. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, which is not a sensational newspaper—(laughter)—headed one of its articles the other day with the words, "Insurrection in the Church"; and really that is not language too strong to describe the position of those men who, while claiming to retain their emoluments and privileges connected with the Establishment, repudiate altogether the regulations which the law enforces in the connection. Now these inconsistent pretensions naturally tend to bring on a crisis. It is quite impossible in this age of inquiry that any institution, however venerable it may be, however deeply rooted in the affections of many of its supporters, can continue to be sustained if it has been proved to be no longer fulfilling the object with which it has been established. I hold, therefore, that the Church of England, as a State Church, is doomed, and tottering to its fall. (Cheers.) There is no other question, to my mind, of equal importance, or of more pressing urgency, and whenever the nation shall weary of the inaction to which it has been for too long a time condemned, I do not doubt that the relations between the Church and State will be one of the first questions which will come up for settlement; and this contingency may arise sooner perhaps than many of us expect. (Hear, hear.) The great wave of reaction which swept over England at the last general election may have its reflux, and we who have seen a majority of sixty converted into a minority of fifty may see a change no less great, but in the inverse direction. Five years before the disestablishment of the Irish Church, who was there so bold as to predict its fall? Under these circumstances, I feel that the crowning of our edifice, the complete accomplishment of religious equality, may be nearer than many of us suppose, and under such circumstances it behoves us to prepare for such a possibility. We have to define our object, that there may be no mistake. (Hear, hear.) We have to take care that we do not lose the substance and gain only the shadow of our contention. (Applause.) Now it may be said our objects are, of course, the disestablishment and disendowment of the English Church; but whilst disestablishment has been proclaimed from the house-tops, disendowment, which is the application of the principle, has only been whispered in the ear. (Hear, hear.) While the principle for which we have been contending has been to a certain extent acknowledged, the application has been referred to in different senses by different people. I say the principle has been acknowledged. The successive reforms of the last few years, the abolition of Church rates, the removal of tests and disabilities, and the establishment of a national system of education, are all so many admissions of the principle that secular and ecclesiastical affairs should be separated. There have been many concessions to the personal and individual grievances of Dissenters, but they have left altogether untouched one question of supreme interest—viz., what is to be done with the enormous funds which have been applied to the creation and maintenance of a single sect, when the State decides that, as a State, it will have no more to do with religion at all. Well, now to take another question which will be submitted, no doubt, for the careful consideration of the meeting—the Burials Bill of the present Government—(Hear, hear)—which has excited, I am glad to say, an extraordinary unanimity of enthusiasm amongst the Dissenters' which will, no doubt, ensure its contemptuous rejection. (Hear, hear.) That is very satisfactory. This shows that the old spirit of our Nonconformity is not dead within us. But do not let us deceive ourselves. The Burials Bill, insulting as it is to us, and a real grievance to many of our co-religionists in country parishes, is after all but a very small matter, and is essentially a Dissenters' grievance. That would not help us to rally to our standard those forces outside both church and chapel, without whose assistance we cannot hope to achieve our ends; and therefore we have to take care that in this case, at all events, it is understood that the less does not include the greater. The Burials Bill, no doubt, has a certain national importance, as illustrating the original effect of a State religion, as showing how it "sweetens the life of a nation." (Laughter.) But even if our claims with respect to it were conceded to the uttermost, let us frankly show that the agitation would still go on, and that the aims of the Liberation Society are much greater and much wider than the issue which is raised by this latest effort at conciliation on the part of the National Church. Now, there are two ways in which it appears to me that the nation is distinctly concerned in our object. In the first place, it is interested in removing what is proved to be a great obstacle to national progress. I would appeal to every class of reformers, and I would ask whether they do not always find the existence of this ecclesiastical organisation a solid barrier against advances in this direction—I do not care whether they desire to promote national education, or a reform in the land laws, or an extension of the suffrage, or an amendment of the penal code; but, one and all, the organisation of the Church is opposed to them, and the strength and the authority of the Church is thrown in the scale against them. The second point on which the nation is interested is in the disposal of what is called Church property, or what I prefer to call our national resources. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) Now I made a rough calculation some time ago which convinced me that the surplus property would be equivalent to an annual sum of five shillings per head to every man, woman, and child in England and Wales. I made this rough calculation because it offered to every parish and every borough and every district an easy means of estimating what would be its share of the national fund, and of considering what good and what advantages to the population might be secured by its better employment. And thereupon, one of these reverend gentlemen employed in "sweetening the religious life of a nation"—(laughter)—accused me of hounding on the working classes to rob the Church by offering them a bribe of two half-crowns apiece. I don't propose to retaliate against the reverend gentleman and to bandy hard words with him. But this money consideration appears to me to be not altogether indifferent to Churchmen themselves. (Much laughter.) I suppose there is little doubt that the Ritualists would long ago have seceded from the Establishment but for the golden fetters which bind them to it; and, with reference to this aspect of the question I am reminded of a story of a Scotch minister who was catechising his flock. On finding the beadle of the kirk holding back (personally not being confident in his ability to pass a satisfactory examination), he called him to the front and said, "John, what is baptism?" The man scratched his head and said, "Oh, sir, ye ken its saxpence to me and fifteenpence to the precentor." (Laughter.) Now, I fancy there are a great number of theological dogmas and ecclesiastical propositions which might be reduced to the saxpence and the fifteenpence of the precentor. (Renewed laughter.) Be this as it may, it is quite clear that even good Liberals cannot see without some apprehension the possibility of disestablishment, if that is to involve the setting free of a new sect with a property of ninety millions sterling—that being the sum which, as you will recollect, Mr. Gladstone said would fall to its lot if the precedent of the Irish Church were observed. Well, now when I reflect that such a monstrous endowment would be an unmixed evil, and when I believe that the property, to which I claim my right in common with all my fellow citizens, might be employed in the promotion, for instance, of education—(Hear, hear)—or in making those improvements in the social condition of the people without which religion and the efforts of moralists have no foundation whatever upon which to build, I am not to be deterred by harsh misrepresentations from estimating the amount of my inheritance, and from examining the titles of those who now claim to possess it, and from inquiring whether I could not make a better use of it. (Applause.) For these reasons I am very glad that the Liberation Society have had under their consideration a scheme for the disendowment of the Church, which will be submitted to you at a subsequent period of the Conference. I believe that scheme necessarily enters into details which it will probably be thought undesirable, and indeed impossible, to discuss at length in this conference, but at least it is submitted as suggestions for your future consideration, and if not the final and definite expression of the opinions of the whole of this association, they are at least suggestions upon which this reform may be based. But there are two points in connection with it of extreme importance, to which I venture to call your attention. In the first place, under no circumstances should the precedent of the Irish Church be followed—(applause)—by the creation of any new corporation at the initiation of the State. Compensation, so far as it is to be awarded, should be awarded to individuals and not to any Church Body. (Hear, hear.) In the first place, we base our right to this property on the right of the State to revise from time to time endowments, whether ancient or modern, whether the gift of our pious ancestors or the subscriptions of the present generation, which have been collected in favour of an ecclesiastical department of the State, as soon as the State decides to cease altogether its ecclesiastical functions. (Hear, hear.) I can well understand that we may be ready to accept limitations of this principle as a matter of expediency, but the principle itself lies at the base of all our contention. For my part I could not see without grave apprehension the possibility of a

success which would end by creating a new political and ecclesiastical organisation enormously wealthy, uncontrolled by the State, in place of the limited authority which we seek still further to restrain. Well now, these, gentlemen, are considerations which I venture to submit to you. I will look forward with confidence to the future. The future is ours. The whole history of our modern civilisation is a history of the continual waning influence of ecclesiastical authority over secular force. It is the history of the relegation of the Church to its proper sphere of usefulness, of moral persuasion and the force of example, and the emancipation of the State from sectarian exclusiveness, and the elevation of our common citizens above all distinctions or classes of creed. (Loud cheers.)

On the motion of Mr. SNAPE, of Darwen, seconded by Mr. WICKS, of Colchester, the following gentlemen were appointed the business committee:—Rev. J. T. Brown, Messrs. Illingworth, J. S. Wright, Henry Lee, W. Crossfield, R. Pullar, E. S. Robinson, J. Cory, J. Pidduck, E. Crossley, W. Goddard, W. Baines, H. R. Ellington, J. Nicholson, and H. I. Wilson.

On the motion of Mr. ROBERT AFFLECK, of Manchester, seconded by the Rev. J BROWNE, of Bradford, some twenty gentlemen were appointed a committee to select the officers, executive committee, and council of the society for the next three years.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The report, which embraced a period of three years was, as usual, read by Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS, and commenced as follows:—

The last Triennial Conference of the Society was held under circumstances calculated to test the spirit and the endurance of its supporters. The Liberal party had been defeated at a general election; a powerful Administration had been destroyed, and disorganisation and despondency existed in quarters where, not long before, there had been almost boundless energy and strength. The friends of religious equality, however, were in no degree disheartened at the failure which dispirited so many of their political allies. They remembered that similar defeats had in past times paved the way to future success; while they saw the way clear before them for such efforts to educate the public mind in relation to the society's aims as could not before have been ventured upon. Neither personal nor national obligations bound them to refrain from entering on a course of action which should make the Establishment question the foremost question of the time, and compel the ultimate adoption by the Liberal party of a policy of disestablishment.

The Conference of 1874 entered thoroughly into the views of the executive committee, who showed the earnestness of their own convictions by submitting a comprehensive scheme for securing improved organisation; for extending the society's agencies; for carrying on more vigorously platform work; for circulating publications in every portion of the country, and for raising the larger funds which the execution of such a scheme would require. It was adopted by the Conference with an enthusiasm which went beyond the designs of the committee; so that it was resolved that the society's friends should be asked to raise 100,000*l.* during the next five years, to prosecute with energy the work which had been determined on.

It affords much gratification to the committee, as they review another triennial period, to find that the feeling so unequivocally expressed at the beginning has been sustained without abatement until its close, and that the expectations then formed, instead of proving delusive, have been justified by subsequent events. They are also able to report that the programme framed in 1874 has been so completely carried out, that the society has never been so well organised; has never worked on a scale of such magnitude; has never expended so much money; and has never attracted towards itself and its great object so much public attention, as it has done during the past three years. If it is less easy to vouch for the practical results of this labour and expenditure, it is only because they cannot be similarly measured. But the executive committee believe, and the conference will, probably, also believe, that there has been an ample reward in the remarkable growth of opinion in favour of the society's purpose, and in the prevailing conviction that, whether it be for good or for evil, the downfall of the remaining ecclesiastical establishments is certainly approaching. If, therefore, the report now to be presented describes fewer achievements than some previous reports, as well as records some disappointments, it abounds in facts full of promise for the future, and which may well make the members of this conference buoyant with anticipation and hope.

The society has now thirty-five local agents, and, by means of this agency, its work has been carried on everywhere—in villages, and obscure places, as well as in large and influential towns. There have been about 2,600 meetings and lectures during the last three years, and the subject has also been a good deal discussed by political clubs and other organisations. The meetings have been largely attended, and increasingly attended by the Established clergy, and other opponents, who occasionally resorted to violence and clamour. The printing-press had been as vigorously used as the platform. Between five and six millions of publications had been issued since the last conference, and volumes, pamphlets, tracts, leaflets, placards have been produced in increasing numbers, and the circulation of the *Liberator* grows year by year. The "Liberation Society" is now a familiar name in thousands of villages, where until of late its existence was unknown. By the systematic placarding of the watering-places, and of the larger towns, hundreds of thousands of the population have been plied with facts and figures. The following passage relates to the society's finances:—

It is owing to the increased liberality of the society's supporters that the committee are able to report so great an increase of work in every department of their operations. The subscriptions, which in 1873-4 amounted to 6,404*l.*, rose in the year following to 12,754*l.*; and again in 1875-6 to 14,452*l.*, and in the year just closed they have reached 15,000*l.* These most satisfactory figures represent the result, up to the present time, of the financial effort resolved upon at the last Conference. Of the 100,000*l.* which it was then agreed to raise, above 42,000*l.* have been actually received and expended; and, had not the long-continued depression of trade made it necessary to suspend further applications, that amount would, no doubt, have been exceeded. It is hoped that in three, if not two, more years, the entire sum may be raised. Meanwhile, the committee will regulate their expenditure in accordance with the means at their disposal in the belief that, when further resources are needed, they will be cheerfully supplied. They believe that their constituents will concur with them in the opinion, that the enlarged expenditure has been followed with commensurate results, and that none of those who have assisted in carrying on these widely extended operations now look back regretfully on a single shilling expended, or a single effort put forth, to bring this great controversy to the point which it is admitted to have reached.

The steps taken to prepare a statement of the practical methods of effecting disestablishment are described, the Conference being referred to a special report for fuller information. Parliamentary work is next referred to. The Education Act of last year is condemned, and also the Universities Bill brought in, but not passed, last year. The bill of this year resembles those measures, and

The committee are glad to announce that the Liberal leaders have framed such amendments as will raise all the material points at issue between those who would banish, and those who would retain, a remnant of ecclesiastical exclusiveness in institutions now admitted to belong, not to a sect, but to the nation. It is not in the interest of Nonconformity alone that the abolition of clerical fellowships is imperatively demanded: the interests of morality require that these temptations to dishonest conformity should cease; and those who are most deeply interested in the prosperity of the universities, as places of learning, have joined in emphatic protests against restrictions which sacrificed education for the sake of aggrandising a church. It is in fact the battle of university reform, quite as much of religious equality, which has now to be fought, and, in spite of temporary reverses, no one who has watched the progress of public opinion in regard to both will be doubtful as to the ultimate result.

The Burials question is dealt with at some length, in connection with the proceedings of both the last and the present Parliament. The Government bill of this year is denounced, and, after expressing satisfaction that Lord Granville has received increased support, and the Government less, than last session, the report says that the Government "plainly avow that the main obstacle in the way of a settlement of the question is clerical antagonism, and that they are not prepared to face so formidable a difficulty. What they decline to do must be effected by others. The laity must show—as they have already many times had to do—their determination to disregard ecclesiastical hostility, in order to do justice, and to concede what is due to Christian charity, as well as to reason and to right. For this purpose it will be desirable to resort to petitioning on a larger scale, as well as to adopt other means of preventing the passing of the bill." The effect of the Scottish Church Patronage Act is next adverted to:—

Free Churchmen were already irritated by, what they deemed the special injustice done to them by the Patronage Act, and their irritation has not been allayed by the pecuniary inducements which have been held out by the Establishment to win over the adherents of the Free Church. Those efforts have been, as yet, but slightly successful; but they have had a visible effect on Free Church policy. That Church, instead of allowing itself to be gradually absorbed by the Establishment, has resolved to assist in putting an end to the Establishment. The grounds on which it proceeds are not those occupied by the supporters of this society, and its methods may be less direct than those of either English or Scottish Voluntaries; but the practical object in view is substantially the same. The weight of Free Church influence is thus, by the force of circumstances, being thrown into the scale of disestablishment. That is a fact of great importance. Another circumstance which the committee note with satisfaction is, that the United Presbyterians and other avowed Voluntaries appear resolved to make disestablishment a question of practical politics, as well of public controversy. Projects of Presbyterian union, and a willingness to wait for Free Church action, have, it must be admitted, somewhat repressed energies which once placed Scotland far in advance of England in relation to this great question. There are signs that the time of inaction and of hesitancy is past. There are also indications that the Scottish people—as citizens, rather than as members of ecclesiastical bodies, are, to a great extent, prepared for a movement which will appeal to broad and national, and not merely sectional feelings. The question of Scottish disestablishment cannot be settled as one affecting only, or chiefly, the Presbyterian, or other ecclesiastical bodies; while to secure the support of England and of Ireland, and to move the Legislature, the issue raised must be plain and simple, and the object sought must be the general good of the community. The committee, having regard to the present position of affairs in Scotland, are about to adopt measures for more closely adapting their proceedings to local circumstances, and for securing the heartier co-operation of their Scotch supporters. Their plans for this purpose will be submitted to a conference, to be held in Glasgow on the 17th of May, and they entertain the hope that, next season, the result will be seen in a vigorous, a sustained, and a thoroughly practical agitation.

The various measures of Church reform which have been brought in, but not passed, are enumerated to show, "not only the special difficulties of a Church governed by the State, but its absolute helplessness in regard to the grossest abuses, or the most pressing needs. Whether Parliament enacts new ecclesiastical laws, or refuses to enact them, the effect is the same, in new mortification suffered by earnest Episcopalians, or in the increase of existing discontent." The events occurring in the English Establishment are referred to as aids in the prosecution of the society's work:—

The new life and energy developed in the Church of England during the present century have made the restraints imposed—and necessarily imposed—upon it as an Establishment so intolerably irksome, that there is no party in the Church which does not demand a greater or less degree of freedom. Divergencies in doctrine, in ritual, and in religious work, are now so great, that uniformity is repudiated, and unity has wholly ceased. There is probably no other Christian community so divided in aim, and so full of bitter antagonisms, as that Church which still claims from the State exclusive rights and privileges, as the spiritual guide of the English people. Yet, amid the prevailing confusion, there are now being raised issues of so definite and fundamental a character, that it is possible to discern the drift of events with increasing clearness, and even to forecast the future with more or less of confidence. In spite of the persuasives of optimist prelates, and of Broad Church teachers, the mutual tolerance of diverse ecclesiastical sections is evidently no longer to be hoped for. Sacerdotalists and Ritualists are bent on taking possession, if possible, of the entire Church, and they pursue their object with an ardour and a daring, which paralyse opponents, and make the Church's rulers compromising and irresolute. The Evangelical party, no longer confiding in moral influences, in an evil hour had recourse to legal weapons, and appealed to Parliament to render them more effective for their purpose. The Public Worship Regulation Bill was passed, and the result has exactly accorded with the confident anticipations of the committee.

An effective description of the proceedings of the Ritualistic party in protesting against the Act and the imprisonment of Mr. Tooth is given, and also the demands which the High Churchmen, as well as Ritualists, are now making. The report then proceeds, and closes as follows:—

The members of this society would be wanting both in consistency and generosity if they do not strongly sympathise with these yearnings for that spiritual freedom which is essential to the welfare of any Christian church. But they are bound to insist on the conditions on which alone that freedom can be enjoyed; and, in doing so, they are certain to be supported by public opinion and by Parliament. That the royal supremacy over the Established Church will cease; that Convocations will be allowed to exercise any of the authority now possessed by the Legislature; that the Church will enjoy the liberty of the unestablished bodies, while it continues to be a Church established by law, will be believed by no one who is acquainted with the convictions and the feelings, not of politicians only, but of the mass of the British people. It may even be doubted whether those who make these bold demands themselves expect success, except as the result of disestablishment. Some of them, no doubt, at present indulge in dreams of disestablishment without disendowment. Others deprecate both, but declare their readiness to submit to both, rather than allow their consciences to be further outraged, and their Church any longer to be dishonoured. The relative advantages and disadvantages of State connection, and the probable consequences of its dissolution, are being discussed with a calmness which shows that the cries of "Confiscation!" and "Spoliation!" have lost their power to stimulate the now languishing cause of "Church defence." Churchmen who are unwilling to join this organisation are forming others, which are practically "Liberation Societies," and which must, however unintentionally, prove allies of that older institution, the principles and aims of which they were accustomed strongly to denounce. Those principles and aims are now accepted in part, and, unless present appearances are deceptive, the irresistible force of events will presently make the work of conversion perfect.

There are also hopeful signs without, as well as within, the Establishment. The members of the older Methodist body are taking their places side by side with other bodies which have always inscribed "religious equality" on their banners. Liberal politicians are beginning to feel the necessity for facing a question which they have hitherto endeavoured to evade. Liberal associations include it in their programmes, and Liberal candidates find it a means of kindling enthusiasm which no other public topic can excite. The present position of political parties is as favourable for the society's work as it was three years ago; while its prospects are brighter, and its course is, at this moment, free from perplexity and danger.

That this will not always be the case may be regarded not merely as likely, but as certain. There is, therefore, need for undiminished vigilance, as well as for unremitting labour. Neither the English nor the Scotch Establishment will fall, as the result of blows already struck, or of either the contentions, or the changed convictions, of their supporters. They will fall only after a severe, if not protracted, conflict. Half measures and compromises may be tried, before the application of an effectual and final remedy. The difficulties to be overcome will be numerous enough, and great enough, to induce even bold and able statesmen to defer decisive action until it can be deferred no longer. Our duties have changed only, and not ceased. We have wisely to adapt our course to altered circumstances. We have to become more and more practical in our work—to make it increasingly evident that our aims are unselfish, and our spirit neither narrow nor sectarian. We have to utilise new forces, to adopt new agencies, and to form new alliances. We have to persevere, and to be faithful, to the end, no more doubting that we shall be helped and guided in the future than we have doubted in the past; or than we doubt now that we are working for the glory of God, as well as the good of man, and that He will bless and prosper us in our labours.

Several passages of the report were loudly cheered, and after it had been read,

Mr. ELLINGTON, the London treasurer, presented the financial statement, which showed

that the receipts, with the balance, had been 16,115*l.* 2s. 7d., the payments 14,873*l.* 9s. 10d., and the balance in hand 1,241*l.* 12s. 9d.

At the conclusion of the report, Mr. H. R. ELLINGTON, the Treasurer, said the figures read represented an amount of work of which he thought many gentlemen had very little conception. The labours of the finance committee were very great indeed. Many hours every week were spent in examining every item of expenditure—every item was examined by the Finance Committee before a payment was made. So far from any tendency to extravagance, there were some who thought them too strict in restricting expenditure.

Mr. HENRY RICHARD, M.P., who was received with loud cheers, moved:—

The Conference receives and adopts the report of the executive committee and the treasurer's account, and in doing so desires to express unreserved satisfaction at the extent to which the plans submitted to the last Conference have been carried into effect. In the increase of agencies, the wide diffusion of information by means of meetings and publications, and the augmentation of its pecuniary resources, the Conference finds gratifying evidence of the vitality and growing power of the society; while the present state of public opinion in regard to the question of disestablishment justifies the most confident anticipations in regard to its future success.

He said the report represented a large amount of work that had been done with singular judgment, energy, and success. It had been seed-time, and not harvest, but was on that account none the less valuable or important. As to the manner in which the account of the Society's operations had been brought before them by the secretary, reports of societies used to be regarded as a kind of nightmare at meetings of that kind, the opening of which was looked upon with dread, and the close hailed with satisfaction and relief; but Mr. Williams contrived to render the report one of the most interesting parts of their proceedings. He wished merely to say a few words congratulating them and himself upon the appearance of the meeting, and not less satisfactory was the presence amongst them of one to whom for so many years they had been accustomed to look with so much of affection, veneration, and confidence—their great leader in that enterprise, Mr. Miall. (Loud cheers—the audience rising to their feet.) That was a noble gathering of influential representative men from all parts of the United Kingdom; of men who, in his opinion, constituted the backbone of English society, and wearing an appearance of considerable courage and cheerfulness, as though they were not disposed to abate one jot of their pretensions or hope. There was a report in the lobbies last session of Parliament that Lord Beaconsfield had said there was one thing he could look back on with satisfaction, which was he had killed the Nonconformists, and that Mr. Forster had buried them. (Laughter.) Lord Beaconsfield, he supposed, wished to have inscribed upon his monument, "Here lies the man who killed the Nonconformists," and I suppose he would like to have added "And kept alive the Grand Turk." (Loud laughter.) His own conviction was that Nonconformists would not die, and that the Grand Turk would not live very long. (Cheers.) Lord Beaconsfield was not the only statesman in this country who imagined they had killed the Nonconformists. Sheldon and his party, when they drove five thousand men out of their livings, probably had a firm opinion that they were going to crush Nonconformity, but the result was that they laid the foundations deeper than before! Nonconformity which had been killed so often had risen up again, and after their last slaughter by Lord Beaconsfield, they showed a great army standing to its feet, with their twenty-eight thousand places of worship, their two and a-half millions of Sunday-school children, their six millions of money raised by voluntary contributions every year, their vast apparatus of societies for the promotion of charity and education, and carrying out their operations on behalf of Christian truth to the uttermost ends of the earth. (Cheers.) Here they are—and they did not mean to die until there would be a time when Nonconformity would die, and that was when the Church of England should be disestablished, and then Nonconformity would expire a natural death. (Loud cheers.) What Lord Beaconsfield meant, no doubt, was that by the extension of the suffrage he had swamped the Nonconformists in different constituencies; but he (Mr. Richard) believed there were sundry constituencies in this country where they formed the most powerful and predominant element, besides which they were doing what they could—and they must do more still in that direction—to educate the working classes, whom Lord Beaconsfield brought into the suffrage, in the principles of religious equality; and he had come to the belief that these, instead of being made to swamp, would only swell their army in the last resort. Mr. Matthew Arnold had been saying something about them lately. He told the world that they were savages. In a recent essay he said that the Ritualists were simpletons led by Mr. Beresford Hope, and the Nonconformists were savages led by Mr. Henry Richard. (Loud laughter.) He had a great liking for Mr. Arnold, who wrote beautiful poetry, the model of an exquisite English style, and wielded with wonderful skill the weapon of a delicate irony, which he applied with infinite grace, though not always with sweet reasonableness; and he must regret that sometimes Mr. Arnold should turn to polemics, because he did not think his peculiar genius was adapted for that sphere and for that arena. (Hear, hear.) Without meaning any disparagement to his genius, he (the speaker), said there was something of the vehemence and shrewishness of a woman in him, when he came into hot controversy. Instead of arguing fairly with his adversary, he was in the bad habit of calling names, which, in any other man than Mr. Arnold, might be called coarse and vulgar. But in spite of both Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Arnold, there the Nonconformists were, and there they meant to stand on that platform of religious equality until their work was accomplished. (Cheers.) What the gentlemen before him had to do was to work out of doors. He had now had some experience of the House of Commons, and he would impress this upon them—that they must select the right people to represent them there. Let them send their own men—(cheers)—and if they could not find them, make them, train them for political life. (Hear, hear.) They had no conception of the sort of feeling that prevailed in the House of Commons when Nonconformist questions came up. Even the smallness of the minorities which were sometimes secured imperfectly represented what occurred in the House; for even those who had voted with them sometimes did so with the utmost reluctance. Those were not the sort of men to represent Nonconformists. (Loud cheers.) He had never been one to insist that their peculiar principles on disestablishment should be made a test question in elections, but he said there were questions on which there should be a better understanding between constituents and their representatives. They should have their eyes upon their representatives, and keep them up to the mark—at least with regard to these secondary questions—until they came to the great question, not far distant, the establishment of religious equality in this great country. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Miall had intended to have offered some remarks in favour of the resolution, but that he felt his strength was not sufficiently re-established to enable him to do so. He (the Chairman) would therefore call upon the senior member for Edinburgh, Mr. Duncan McLaren, to second the resolution.

Mr. MCLAREN, M.P., said he quite concurred with Mr. Richard in his praise of the Report, which was a most able document. In Scotland the old voluntary party, represented by the Presbyterian Church, lay upon their oars for many years. Matters had now very much changed indeed. The Free Church felt that by the passing of the Patronage Bill there was a challenge thrown out to them. They felt incensed by the conduct of the the Government; and whilst they were not prepared to go at present for the voluntary principle, a large majority of them appeared to be of opinion that the Church, as it stood, ought to be abolished altogether. (Cheers.) There was not much difference, as they saw, between the voluntary principle and disestablishment on the principles of Free Church. The annual meeting of their General Assembly would be held in two or three weeks, and in that assembly he had no doubt a course would be chalked out, or the basis of a scheme laid down, and he believed they would see in the next two or three years a far greater unity of purpose in respect to Nonconformist principle than they had seen for many years. (Hear, hear.) So far as he could make out, and he had been a voluntary for nearly fifty years, the great bulk of the Liberal people of Scotland were in favour of disestablishment, or the voluntary principle, in the abstract. (Hear, hear.) The question was how far it should be made a test at elections. He thought it had much better be left to each constituency, than for that or any other society to pass a general resolution recommending any general course to be adopted. He most cordially seconded the resolution, and hoped that in future the Liberation Society would go on in the way it had done for the last few years, still imbuing the public mind with sound principles; and when disestablishment itself came it must be very different indeed from the Irish disendowment plan by which the members of the old Episcopal Church had got a capital of seven millions of money saved to them out of the wreck. (Hear, hear.) That was a very strange kind of disendowment—probably an Irish mode—the English and Scotch mode, he thought, would be very different. (Cheers.)

Mr. HUTCHINSON, M.P. for Halifax, in supporting the resolution, said the report which contained the record of the work of the last three years, spoke the language of cheerful contentment, and used phrases of confident anticipation, if not of something more, and he believed the tone it took to be warranted. As to what lay before them it was not for them to speak in "bated breath and whispering humbleness." That very evening the Home Secretary was to bring in a bill for the creation of four new bishoprics. (Hear, hear.) He did not particularly see that public opinion gravitated to the conclusion that, whatever else was wanted, a creation of more bishops was by any means one of the needs of modern society. (Laughter and cheers.) There was also something more—even the opponents of the voluntary principle were paying it that sincere homage which arose from the fact of imitation. If it had not been for the adoption of that very voluntary principle, which they were accustomed not long ago to repudiate, the Church of England would occupy a very different place in the country from what it now did. (Hear, hear.) Its only *raison d'etre* was that it relied upon the free-will offerings of its members; for it ceased to have any faith in the support of the authorities, and appealed to the help of those who loved it. Such help the society could not grudge. What it did grudge was the help of those who were disaffected to it. The process of converting the nation to their disestablishment views, which Mr. Gladstone told Mr. Miall was his and our work, was rapidly going on, and if they looked at things in England, Scotland, and Wales, they would find that the process Mr. Richard spoke of was being rapidly gone through. Wales was ripe for disestablishment. Forces of that kind were of the sort that continually go on, and are ever increasing in momentum. Whenever there was a great conviction or feeling of that kind, it contained within itself the promise of its own realisation, and such would undoubtedly be the case in the present instance. (Cheers.) It was as impossible to restore the Heptarchy as it would be to restore the old and general opinion amongst the English people as to the necessity of the Established Church. That opinion had gone, and instead of it had come the feeling that the time was at hand when it would not be considered right, or politic, or prudent, or advantageous, for the State to meddle in matters pertaining to religious conviction. (Cheers.) The principles of ecclesiastical ascendancy met them at every step, at home and in Parliament. They were the one obstacle in the way of the general education of the country; nay, it was an obstacle in the way of religion itself, for any man who had fairly realised its grandeur and mysteries, and felt them sink into his soul, must feel how great is the degradation of spiritual things when a Prime Minister attempted to regulate matters in connection with the realm of the unseen. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. SAMUEL WATTS, of Manchester, supported the resolution. He thought the report was very modest in the assertion of the great progress that had been made in the cause of disestablishment, for it was within his recollection that even the Wesleyan Conference itself, in time gone by, supported very strongly the position occupied by the Established Church. Their question was in its legitimate place, as one of the objects and a part of the platform of the Liberal party.

THE BURIALS QUESTION.

Mr. J. C. COX (Belper), moved:—

That this Conference recognises with pleasure the recent marked advance of public sentiment in favour of granting equal rights to all parishioners in parochial burial-places. It strongly condemns the action of the Government in introducing a measure which removes no grievance, and which would perpetuate, and even increase, existing evils. In view of the fact that the Burials Act Consolidation Bill is opposed with absolute unanimity by all sections of Nonconformists, the Conference does not doubt that, if the bill be energetically and persistently resisted through its remaining stages, it will not become law, and that its abandonment will furnish a new proof of the necessity for adopting the principle embodied in Mr. Osborne Morgan's Bill.

He observed that the Burials Bill was not only opposed by Nonconformists but, to some extent, by both ministers and laymen of the Church of England, to which latter body he belonged. He knew many members of the Church of England who were prepared to vote for Mr. Osborne Morgan's bill—(applause)—and he ventured to say ninety per cent. of the peers who voted for Lord Granville's amendment also belonged to the Established Church. (Hear, hear.) He thought the 1st of May was an auspicious day for this meeting, and it was a curious coincidence, he thought, that on the same day a new daily London paper should have been started in the metropolis in favour of the Church, but he, as the representative of a great minority in the Church, disclaimed the sentiments contained in its leading articles, which he discovered were inconsistent one with another. The Burials Bill and the increase of the bishops were put by that journal on the same footing; and he desired to point out that there were thousands of Churchmen who would scorn to put these two things on the same footing. He thought this new journal was *Guardian* and water—(laughter)—in its representation of the Church party. He was pleased to find the great breadth of sentiment which characterised the resolution that had been prepared on the subject of the Burials Bill. There was no doubt a marked advance in public opinion in favour of granting equal rights to all parishioners. Lord Granville proposed that there should be a "religious and orderly observance" allowed, but he (Mr. Cox) would like equal rights to all parishioners, and he would not confine the observances to Christian observances, which might exclude persons who did not accept the principles of Christianity, such as a Hindoo or a Positivist, or a Turk. Lord Salisbury had touched on this point in the recent debate, and had intimated that it would be easy for Dissenters to purchase burial-grounds of their own, and that additional facilities would be given for this purpose in the bill, but Lord Salisbury was the representative of a class of landlords who refused to sell sites for chapels, and it was not likely there would be any greater alacrity in selling land for the burial of Dissenters. In fact, he (Mr. Cox) had heard, on good authority, that the Marquis himself had refused for many years to sell land to the Methodists of Hatfield for the purposes of chapel building, and they had been obliged to worship in a barn-like building, with the cows adjoining, and hence the building was to this day called the "moo-cow" chapel. (Laughter.) It seemed to be thought in

the House of Lords that there was no grievance in this matter, but it was a fact that certain landlords would not sell their land for any price for the purposes of a Dissenting chapel. If there was any bitterness int his matter, it was owing to the bigotry of the Church landowners, such as the Marquis of Salisbury, who had forced this question upon us, and he felt, with the chairman, that this society in its determined efforts was doing a great Christian work, in endeavouring to secure for all citizens the use of the national burial-grouds without being subjected to those penalties and inconveniences which made the burial of Dissenters more like that of the burial of suicides and dogs. (Cheers.)

The Rev. PAGE HOPPES, in seconding the resolution, said it had been his good fortune to live several years in Scotland, and it would probably do some good if he mentioned the fact that there was not the slightest difficulty there in doing what the society was now trying to secure for the Nonconformist ministers here. Again and again he had gone with his friends into the churchyards in Scotland, and he had committed a "profanation" in conducting the funeral service in his own way, and he ventured to say that nobody had been any the worse for it, and he had never heard that anybody had been particularly injured. He remembered performing a sorrowful duty in company with his dear friend, Mr. Crosskey, in Scotland. The deceased was reverenced in the place where he lived, and he remembered the little service in the house, after which some forty or fifty people belonging to all the different churches collected at the graveyard. Mr. Crosskey, who was a Nonconformist and Unitarian, went with them into the churchyard, and conducted, at the side of the grave, a funeral service, and he ventured to say that there was not a single word uttered at that grave that any gentleman in this room would not be the better for. The point he wanted to bring out was that if it had not been possible for them so to act, everybody present at that grave would have felt it to be a personal injury, and he believed that the clergyman of the pariah would also have been grieved. He would say also that it was a question for this meeting whether it would not be good in this country to take a pattern from their brethren in Scotland, and settle the question in that way, instead of in the pettifogging sectarian political manner in which it was proposed to deal with the question. (Hear, hear.) From Lord Salisbury's speech in the House of Lords he was convinced that Parliament did not understand the Nonconformists. He did not believe that any indignity was intended, but that Parliament knew nothing about the Nonconformists, or what Nonconformity meant, or the strength of the party. Lord Salisbury had declared that the clergy regarded the presence of the officiating Nonconformist minister as a profanation to the churchyard, and if that was so it only showed that these clergymen, who were called clergy of the National Church, were not fit to be ministers of such a Church, and indeed, he thought they were scarcely worthy of the name of Christians. (Hear, hear.) He thought that for the benefit of such gentlemen there ought to be a society for disestablishing them, and for conveying the Gospel into these foreign parts. (Applause.)

The Rev. Dr. EDMOND supported the resolution, and said he should shrink from addressing this intelligent audience but for two reasons—first, that he felt a very intense interest in this question; and, secondly, he thought it very fitting that this assembly should have a few words on this question from a Presbyterian, because in the House of Lords the Archbishop of Canterbury attempted, as he thought, to bring a sort of support to the Government measure from the Scotch Presbyterians. But his grace probably did not notice that before the debate Lord Granville presented a petition from the Presbyterian Synod then in assembly against the Burials Bill, declaring it to be utterly objectionable and unacceptable to the Presbyterians of the South. He had three objections—in fact, a great many more—(laughter)—to this Government Burials Bill. First, it did not touch the grievances of citizens outside the pale of the Church of England. He would declare that this bill was a thoroughly unmanly bill, as it did not do what it professed to do. The bill started with a great cloud of dust about sanitary reform—(laughter)—which reminded him of Sir Walter Scott's recipe for painting a battle scene, viz., to get up a great dust in the front, and to put an arm here, and a leg there, and a broken wheel at another point of view, and then the spectator would have a capital idea of a battle. In this bill this dust about sanitary reform went on till somewhere about the 74th clause, and not till then did they get to know why all this array of clauses was brought before Parliament. It was like a funeral procession with the object of burying a Nonconformist corpse decently and without being noticed, and for that purpose the procession was preceded by a lot of dust-carts and empty wagons making a noise and dust, and when the way had been cleared in this manner for all the spectators, the body might be buried as the mourners pleased. (Laughter.) He thought it disagreeable to the statesmen of England that having a grievance before them, and their object being to redress that grievance, they could not go about it in a different way. There were two words used in this bill which he did not like. He objected to "silence" and "severance." The bill was so managed that where it gave union it imposed silence, and where it did not give speech it imposed severance. It was new to him that this was a concession. He denied it. It was no concession to the Nonconformists to be allowed to bury their dead in the parish churchyard. People did not concede rights, but they were denied justice if they did not have them. The concession, if to anyone, was to clergymen. (Hear, hear.) Though coming from the North, where their practices were different, he approved of that custom prevailing in the South where his Nonconformist brethren held a religious ceremony beside the grave. He liked, however, to continue the Scotch practice of a service in the house as well, where all the members of the family might hear words of consolation if they felt so disposed. But even if they were disposed to be in favour of silent funerals, which they were not, it must not be forgotten that they were citizens of these English realms, forming a part of that great Nonconformist division of Christians in the land, and they were not going to accept silent funerals, and the Government bill could not be acceptable to the Nonconformist community. (Applause.) He was not going to sever himself from the citizenship of the kingdom, and this was a question of justice and common right, and he stood up for those rights along with his other fellow subjects. One reason why the proposal of silent funerals was objectionable was because it went in the face of common practice and feeling of the land, and therefore they would not have it, and they would not accept such burial in the common churchyard by the imposition of a Legislative gag. Mr. Matthew Arnold had said, "We will give you conditions of peace and a limited amount of utterance, if you will take a service for example of our preparation." But he (Dr. Edmond) preferred his own service, and he preferred their own hymns, and he preferred their own mode of performing the burial. But it was said lastly, "We should grant you everything if you would prohibit political harangues; that is the thing we dread." Now, he admitted that the law of the land should be respected whether the people were Secularists, Positivists, Churchmen, or Dissenters, and that the services ought to be conducted in order and peace. (Hear, hear.) What, therefore, could people be afraid of in what they called "harangues"? It was said on the other hand that all the great guns of the Liberation Society could not batter the outworks of the Church, which was solidly founded upon a rock, and when they now seemed afraid that the old parish church might be blown down by secular harangues—(laughter)—they might safely say that the harangue, whatever it might be, would harm the Church just as little as it would harm the sleeper below, who would not hear a word of it. (Laughter.) Therefore, he thought that Nonconformists must stand upon their just claims, subject, of course, to the condition that they did not break the public peace or do any harm to the other citizens of the realm. (Hear, hear.) In conclusion, the reverend gentleman urged the society to persevere with its labours, believing that they would not struggle in vain.

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

THE UNIVERSITIES BILL.

The Hon. LYULPH STANLEY (member of the London School Board) moved the following resolution:—

That, inasmuch as the University Tests Abolition Act of 1871 affirmed the principle that the Universities, as national institutions, should be open to the nation, without reference to sectarian distinctions, any further measures for their reform should provide for the abolition of the ecclesiastical restrictions which still exist. That, inasmuch as the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Bill makes no such provision, and, in its present shape, is calculated to obstruct, rather than to facilitate, the changes which, in the interest of religious equality, are still required, the Conference regards with much approval the action of the Liberal party in the House of Commons in proposing important amendments of the bill, and trusts that such amendments will receive earnest and adequate support.

He said the bill was now before the country in its second year, and was not so bad a bill as when first introduced; indeed in some respects some such bill was wanted. But the spirit which animated the framers of the measure still lurked in many of the clauses, and the bill would require active opposition from the Liberal party, if it was to become what this society required. He had been glad to hear some remarks made on the neglect of the members of the House of Commons with reference to religious equality; and he felt, as he sat under the gallery, and heard the bill going through Committee, that somebody was to blame. There was one clause especially they were bound to challenge, and which had been challenged by a strong friend of religious equality, not a member of this society. He referred, of course, to Clause 15, in which it was enacted that the commissioners in making a statute for a university or a college, should have regard to the interest of religion, learning, and research. It would be remembered that Mr. Ilbert at a recent meeting of the society called attention to the danger of that word "Religion," as it was feared it would be constituted to mean the religion of the Church of England only, and he had hoped that some amendment would be put down upon the paper of the House, but it was left to Sir Charles Dilke to ask Mr. Gathorne Hardy whether the religion that was meant was the established form of the religion of the Church of England, and although no report of this question or the answer given had appeared in any of the newspapers, he (Mr. Stanley) would be the reporter of the answer to this meeting, for he heard Mr. Hardy reply that he could know of no religion except the religion as by law established. (Hear.) Therefore, as the bill stood at present, it contained clauses which were apparently feasible, and intended to conciliate, whereas it really promoted the interests of the Established Church. It was idle to say, in reply, that these words were in the bill of 1854, because in that year all the places of authority in the governing of the Universities and in the colleges were limited to the members of a privileged sect. Therefore the instructions of the commissioners to have regard to religion could not at that time work unfairly; but by the University Reform Act of 1870, all distinctions of religion had been swept away, except so far that certain clerical restrictions had been maintained, and he should therefore contend that it was competent to no body of commissioners to make any fresh ecclesiastical restrictions upon any one sect in the National Universities, and he hoped that when the bill was reported some member of this society would be found to oppose the passage of the bill until amended. (Hear, hear.) There was also another source of danger and an attack on the principle of religious equality lurking in the 15th clause, which provided that the commissioners, in making a statute, should have regard to the main design of the founder, except where that design had been set aside by some subsequent legislation. Mr. Osborne Morgan, in moving the rejection of this clause, distinctly pointed out that the commissioners might construe their duty by the clause as a direction to preserve all the remaining clerical fellowships. They might say these were required by the founder to be clerical, in so far as Parliament had not already decided otherwise. Mr. Osborne Morgan had called attention to this, and the Ministry had replied that he had put a wrong construction on the clause; but considering the extremely Tory character of a large number of the commissioners, it was most likely that the representatives of the colleges would work hand in hand with the Tory commissioners, and, in fact, he shculd say the clause would mean exactly what the commissioners desired it to mean. It might be made to augment the revenues of the university at the expense of the colleges, yet its proper application should be to benefit the college and not the university. The university existed before the colleges, and when the founders founded the colleges, they deliberately passed by the university and founded new colleges; therefore the interpretation of the clause should be that the design of the founder was to benefit the college. He now found that that was not the construction to be put on the clause, and therefore that clause might do a great deal of mischief in the way of retaining clerical restrictions. But he wanted to go a step further than to empower commissioners to abolish clerical restrictions. The time was come when the Universities should be set free from theological squabbles, so as to devote themselves purely to national learning. He therefore desired that the whole strength of the Liberal party should be united upon the substantial amendments that ought to be made in the bill, which, while making provision for chapel service, which must be recognised as long as that Establishment lasted, should set the Universities absolutely free from all these restrictions. He thought it important that this bill should be fought in an uncompromising spirit in those clauses where they saw danger to the principles of religious liberty. He hoped some trusted spokesman for the society would distinctly lay down a challenge to the Government—(Hear, hear)—that if the bill passed in its present shape, they would reserve to themselves the right of reopening the question as soon as a change of political parties in power took place, and of agitating until the universities were made thoroughly national. (Cheers.) He would tell the Opposition side that now was the time for reconciliation and settlement and for moderate terms; but if those moderate terms were not accepted, he hoped the time would come when they would insist upon making the universities thoroughly national without any concession being granted. (Cheers.)

Mr. FREDERIC HARRISON in seconding the resolution said Mr. Stanley had shown such mastery of the subject that it was not necessary to go into any more detail. Mr. Stanley had quite expressed the feelings of those resident at Oxford who looked upon their university work in a really national spirit. He had long been of opinion that those who desired to nationalise the universities should take up a most uncompromising line upon the question of clerical fellowships; they should insist that they would give no co-operation to any fresh legislation that did not provide for the ultimate extinction of those prizes which induced young men to join the Established Church. No one who knew the seats of learning but would bear him out that they produced in young men an amount of paltering with conscience and a dishonesty of spirit which was most degrading and damaging to the Church of England in regard to its spiritual interests. He was far from saying there were not most conscientious men who held clerical fellowships who did their work in the best spirit; but on the other hand there were a vast number of men to whom it was a matter of grave doubt and dishonesty of feeling, and who almost deliberately sold themselves to that which they disbelieved. If there was one thing more than another which could tend to weaken and dishonour the Church as a spiritual institution it was the maintenance of a struggle for these kind of prizes which had been so much abused. The true friend of the Church of England was the man who would be the first to

give them up. It was not a question for this society but for the country, that the seats of learning should become national. Those who knew the inner working of the university tests knew how most completely education was checked and encumbered by these restrictions, and the country was concerned that these ancient endowments should be open to the whole nation, that they should do the work for which they were instituted in a healthy, vigorous, and high-minded spirit. (Cheers.) But that was impossible so long as they were made, by a sort of side-wind, prizes to extend the influence and power of the Established Church. When they looked at the educational work of the university as a whole, they saw how completely a lower tone had been thrown over the work; how many able men were deterred from throwing themselves into it; and how thoroughly a false educational standard had been set up, when fellowships were looked upon as semi-clerical offices instead of having purely educational functions. The time was coming, he believed, when men would lay down the principle that they would not co-operate in further legislation in regard to the universities unless they saw their way through the national will ultimately to abolish all those prizes which were now used as buttresses of the Establishment. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN, in putting the resolution (which was carried unanimously), said this brought the business of the meeting to a close; but a suggestion had been made that, as the meeting was of a representative character, advantage should be taken of it to receive and consider a resolution in support of Mr. Gladstone. (Cheers.)

RESOLUTION OF SYMPATHY WITH MR. GLADSTONE.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN having been appointed chairman, the Rev. Mr. CROSSKEY moved:—

That this meeting of friends of religious equality begs to assure Mr. Gladstone of its most cordial sympathy in his noble efforts on behalf of the subjects of the Porte, and protests against any policy which would either aid with sympathy, or protect with the arms of England, the despotism under which they suffer.

(Cheers.) He said the sympathy with which the resolution had been received would render unnecessary any defence of it. They now stood in a crisis of English and European history, as well as in a crisis in the history of religious equality. They could not overrate its gravity. Mr. Gladstone ought to be supported by every Liberal man of England—(cheers)—and they hoped and trusted that the Liberal party in the House would give him that allegiance which he had a right to expect. There ought to be no division of the Liberal party on this broad question, when religious liberty was concerned, and humanity cried out for justice against oppression in its most iniquitous forms. He did not ask the verdict of the meeting on Mr. Gladstone's series of resolutions; he asked it on the question of the general policy of self-government and of equality between Christian and Mahommedan—a policy in which all England must sympathise. (Cheers.) They objected to the sympathy or arms of England being used on the side of Turkish barbarity. (Applause.) He trusted that throughout the country the cry would be echoed that in such a case England would never make war, and he asked them to rally around the one man who could save this country from her shame and her difficulty.

Mr. HENRY LEE (Manchester) seconded the resolution. It was, he said, one of the boasts of Nonconformists that they were as anxious for religious liberty elsewhere as at home. (Hear, hear.) They all must therefore owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Gladstone for his courage in coming forward at such a moment and tabling the resolutions he had placed before the House of Commons. It was not for this meeting to criticise these resolutions; they were satisfied with the impulse which had created them. They had watched Mr. Gladstone in times gone by, and seen the growth of his opinions, and they believed he was a man who would follow that which he believed to be true, whether it brought him into public disrepute or not. The Tory press charged Mr. Gladstone with all kinds of disgraceful conduct. They called him unpatriotic, that he was influenced by impure motives, and that he desired simply to bring himself before the public, and to lead the Liberal party in place of Lord Hartington. But Mr. Gladstone rose superior to all charges of this kind. (Cheers.) The course which Mr. Gladstone had taken was just the course that might have been expected, and he (Mr. Lee) hoped the time would come when Mr. Gladstone would feel it his duty to come to the front again when any great question had to be discussed.

Mr. EBENEZER DAVIS, hon. secretary of the Liberal Associatson of Greenwich, thanked the meeting for the resolution which had been proposed, and announced that he had a telegram from the Birmingham Liberal Association expressing an earnest request that this meeting would do something to strengthen Mr. Gladstone's hands—(Hear, hear)—and with the same object a demonstration was to be held at Woolwich, which he trusted would give such an impetus to the feeling already existing that the "weak-kneed" Liberals would find they must follow Mr. Gladstone. (Cheers.)

The Rev. J. G. ROGERS said he regarded the feeling of the meeting as showing what had been often said that, if they wanted earnest, sturdy, uncompromising Liberalism, to be relied on in all emergencies, they need not go outside the Nonconformist ranks to seek them. They might make mistakes in their judgments, but they would not shrink from the courage of their convictions. Mr. Lee had referred to the Tory Press, but it was not only the Tory Press that abused Mr. Gladstone, because the *Daily Telegraph*, formerly conspicuous for its fulsome adulation of Mr. Gladstone, was now continually attacking him, whilst it did not desert Liberalism. But Mr. Gladstone was not the leader of the Liberal party, but the representative of a great national sentiment which found expression last autumn. He was one of the few statesmen whom this country had known who put principle and honour beyond everything beside—(cheers)—and it was just because he did that that he was imperfectly understood. They were all agreed that British interests could not be subserved by the patronage of murder, lust, and rapine, and he hoped by a unanimous vote on this resolution the meeting would show its conviction that in the interests of peace it was essential to proclaim they were most concerned for the cause of freedom and righteousness all over the world. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN, in putting the resolution, said he believed that Mr. Gladstone never stood so much in need of the sympathy of the Liberal party as now, when he was in danger of being left in the lurch by his former colleagues and followers. The Liberal party recognised the Marquis of Hartington as their leader, and he (the chairman) always followed him with the greatest respect and deference when he went before. (Laughter and cheers.) There was not the slightest pretence for saying Mr. Gladstone wanted to usurp the place of the Marquis—(Hear, hear)—but in this case Mr. Gladstone was the living expression of the national will with respect to the Eastern Question. (Much cheering).

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

Mr. LYULPH STANLEY proposed that a deputation consisting of the chairman, Rev. J. G. Rogers, Mr. A. Illingworth, and the Rev. Mr. Crosskey, wait on Mr. Gladstone with the resolution just passed.

Mr. JOHN MORLEY, in seconding the motion, said he agreed that Mr. Gladstone needed all the support he could possibly get from such a meeting as this and similar meetings which he (Mr. Morley) hoped would be held in the provinces during the week. There were those who said that the feeling which Mr. Gladstone kindled last autumn was extinct, but if there was any ground for the belief it was probably because Mr. Gladstone felt himself tied by feelings of allegiance to Lord Hartington; but he (Mr. Morley) was glad that Mr. Gladstone felt himself tied no longer, and he believed the time was come when the nation would be perfectly willing to support him, and to re-echo the cry that it would have nothing more to do with the support of the Porte. (Cheers).

The resolution was carried, and the proceedings terminated with three cheers for Mr. Gladstone.

SECOND SITTING.—EVENING.

On the motion of the Rev. W. GRIFFITH, of Derby, seconded by Mr. STAFFORD ALLEN, of London, Mr. A. Illingworth, M.P., was elected chairman. There was a considerable attendance of delegates.

The CHAIRMAN said: Gentlemen, before proceeding to the business which is upon the programme for this evening, I may allude to what has taken place, as the result of the resolution of sympathy with Mr. Gladstone, passed at this morning's meeting. An interview was arranged for five o'clock, and we went down to the House of Commons, and were very kindly received by Mr. Gladstone, and had the opportunity of laying before him the resolution which was unanimously and enthusiastically carried at this morning's Conference. I may say that I believe he felt it very deeply, indeed he expressed himself as much touched by this mark of confidence of the Nonconformist body, so spontaneously and unexpectedly shown this morning, and so very promptly passed by this meeting. He added that a charge was brought against the English people that they were capable of being acted upon by those moving the wires, that they were literally puppets; and he said it was very desirable that the world, as well as England, should know whether that really was the case—that if the men who had shown such interest in this Eastern Question had moved from a sense of deep conviction in the autumn of last year, they could not have forgotten their responsibility in the spring of the following year. He relied greatly on the co-operation of those who had humanitarian interests at heart rather than on any party or coterie in this country. (Cheers.) I am reminded by Mr. Crosskey that Mr. Gladstone added that he was determined on his part to bring the subject to an issue in the House of Commons—(cheers)—that he should certainly go to a division. He thought it very unlikely that a division could be reached on Monday, and that consequently the debate would be adjourned. In view of the business that is before us I feel that it would be out of place were I to detain you long. I may, however, be permitted to say that, whatever success the Conservative party and Government have scored, it cannot declare that it has allayed ecclesiastical strife within the Church, or that it has destroyed the agitation outside the Church for the realisation of religious equality. Now, happily, the aspect of the question as it concerns the Established Church is to be dwelt upon by the Rev. Marmaduke Miller, and therefore I won't occupy above a moment in reference to what is called the Church of this country. But we have this existing state of things, that we have two national forms of Established religion as applied to England and Scotland, from which the absolute majority of the nation dissents; and that is a very startling fact which must more and more engage the serious consideration of statesmen. Even in regard to those who are adherents of the Church, it may be said that, so far from displaying the unity which might be expected under an Act of Parliament Church, controlled by Acts of Uniformity and numerous other Acts, there exists within its borders at this time such an amount of confusion and antagonism as has never been witnessed in this country for the last 200 years. Then there is a section of the clergy, with a very influential, if not large, party at their back, defying the bishops, who are their spiritual pastors and guides, and setting the laws at naught, and openly threatening rebellion against the Constitution of the land; and we have diametrically opposite doctrines and ceremonies set forth from the pulpits of the Establishment; and we are in this position, at this moment, that the clergy of the Church seem to have forgotten the hand that feeds them, and the hand that guides them, and the hand that must control them; and if this confusion prevails much longer we shall find those who have no sympathy with our side of the question compelled, by a necessity which they cannot ignore, to act along our lines, going in for absolute religious equality. (Hear, hear.) It is impossible for such a community as ours under constitutional forms of Government, to allow any power in the State to rise superior to its supremacy; and therefore we have a new element in this question which I believe will be very potent indeed in ultimately enabling us to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. That, I believe, is a feeling which every adherent of the Liberation Society would cheerfully acknowledge, that it is impossible for voluntaryism to display its omnipotent power alongside the Establishment principle and practice; it is only as an Establishment is decaying at the roots that voluntaryism is superseding it; and to whatever successes our Episcopalians can point, they are wholly attributable to the voluntary principle and its successful operation, in spite of all the hampering and cramping which results from the bonds under which they labour. Now, leaving the Church, let us look at things from the outside. We were reminded in the report this morning that at the election of 1874 the Liberal party was discomfited and dismayed, and yet it was manifest that the party identified with religious equality held its own, and without any abatement of heart or hope. What has taken place during the last three years is shown by the report read this morning, and by other incidents which must have come under the observation of every gentleman present. There can be no doubt whatever that the future is entirely with us; that it is in our power at this moment to prevent this great principle of religious equality from being ignored by the party as a whole; and that in the great centres of population we have already realised everything we desire. There have been special elections at Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Burnley, Leominster, and Salford, and in all of them, except the last (perhaps I ought not to exclude the case of the Salford election) the contest went on the lines of religious equality or the maintenance of the Church Establishment, and in every case, except the last, men were sent to the House of Commons not only sympathising with, but also apostles of, the doctrines and of the opinions which we hold. (Hear, hear.) Then with regard to Salford, no man has ventured to say it was in consequence of the advanced views held by Mr. Kay on the question of religious equality he failed to carry the majority of the electors of that constituency; but there were some side issues that entered into that contest to account for the result. And not only in these political elections, but look at the educational contests that have taken place in London and elsewhere, and we have the supreme satisfaction of knowing that public opinion has tended strongly in our direction. The grave blunder on the part of the clergy of identifying the Church with the exclusiveness and narrowness of a system of national education has been to them a very damaging blow indeed. What was realised in London and Bradford and every large constituency gives us the strongest assurance that the constituencies of this country when appealed to, in due time, after education and reflection, will undoubtedly abide by the position we have taken up, and we shall find ourselves stronger in each successive contest. It cannot for one moment be concealed that we have before us a very arduous task, and he would be a very bold and probably a very rash man, who ventured to undertake to say what will be the course of the future of public questions in this country. We must remember that it was upon the flood tide of household suffrage, as far as the boroughs were concerned, that a Parliament was returned having a majority in favour of religious equality as applied to Ireland and carried out by Mr. Gladstone; and although there is not the same unanimity upon the point, I favour the belief that when household suffrage is applied to the counties, and a proper and fairer distribution of political power is made, they will aid very much in carrying to a successful issue those questions with which we are identified. Many good men hesitate, and are afraid almost to put any faith in the agricultural labourer and the course which he will be likely to take; but we must remember that in the counties the Liberals never had a reliable majority, and even in 1869 it

was the Irish and Scotch constituencies that sent up the large majority in Mr. Gladstone's favour. It is no use denying the fact that the farmer of this country, at any rate, is a very slow-thinking animal and a very Conservative being, and, when nearly the whole of the counties of this part of the Empire are against us, I should like to ask, "What have we to lose? things really are at the worst." I venture to think there is better material in the agricultural labourer. Notwithstanding his ignorance and his condition of vassalage, there is something to work upon, and if we appeal to him beforehand as to the worth of an Establishment to him, his eyes will not be less opened when he can exercise political power. Therefore, we may hail with pleasure and satisfaction the conference to take place in London on the 16th of this month, at which the Right Hon. John Bright is to preside, with the view of supporting Mr. Trevelyan in his motion in favour of household suffrage in counties, and the redistribution of political power. When we consider that we have in this country ten constituencies numbering two millions of inhabitants, who have no more power than one hundred other constituencies, with less than that population, we have a right to expect, when we know these ten constituencies are on our side, that when a reasonable redistribution of political power takes place, our influence and power in the House of Commons will be proportionately extended. But I think there is noticeable all through society a decided change upon this question of disestablishment. (Hear, hear.) There was a time when the subject could not be mentioned in even the most disguised form in the House of Lords; when, in that assembly—which Mr. Gladstone called a sort of balloon, in which their lordships lived beyond the level of mundane affairs—(laughter)—to have our grievances discussed with any degree of consideration was a privilege for which we were, I believe, deeply thankful. (Laughter.) Those who read the debates in the House of Lords the other night on the burials question, must have come to the conclusion that the peers' faces were blanched with the nightmare of disestablishment, as it must have appeared to the members of that House. It is true that Lord Granville said:—"Had I any idea that disestablishment, the destruction of the throne, or of the aristocracy, was in any way associated with the resolution, I would have none of it," but we all know that we have had all these disclaimers before upon all other matters. (Laughter.) It is true that many members of that House in passing that resolution, said it was a very short step from the churchyard to the church, and that it was the logical sequence of one concession that the other should follow. Well, we do not ask for so much at the hands of their lordships, but I think we may take into account the suggestions they kindly offered. For my own part, I am afraid that if the churchyard belongs to the parish, I don't know to whom else the parish church belongs. We had this morning some admirable speeches on the burials question. I could not find as many arguments and illustrations as were produced by Dr. Edmond, but I deem the parish churchyard as much the property of every individual in the parish as the parish road—(Hear, hear)—that there is a common law right to the one just as absolutely as to the other; that it is the Act of Parliament, the result of bygone bigotry, whioh has clogged that common right with one uniform service; but, at the time, that was done in the supposed interests of the whole people, because all the people were bound to recognise one National Church, Dissent being forbidden. It is only a stroke of the pen that is required to restore to us untrammelled the national right in our national churchyards; and if our Episcopalian friends were to go so far as to find it necessary to consecrate the high road which leads to the church, I suppose you and I would have no objection whatever, but if they, in consequence of that consecration, were to move one step in the way of restriction of our rights to the high road, then I suppose we should all be in arms against sacerdotal pretensions ("Hear, hear," and applause). And it is precisely so with regard to the churchyard. I don't think there is the shadow of difference between the two cases. (Hear, hear.) Well, the question comes "Is there any new work before us in order to further the objects we have in view?" Sir Robert Peel advised his adherents to "Register, register, register!" It simply rests with us to "Educate, educate, educate!" We have done an amount of work of which we may estimate the cost, but of which we cannot guage the results. The crops in the ground look well, and when the harvesting time comes, the yield will be everything we desire. What we have to do is to continue on the same lines, bringing, if possible, more energy, more intelligence, and more devotion to the cause, remembering what has been done during the last three years, and recollecting that perhaps another two years may bring us a general election—for I don't think it safe to speculate upon more. I believe it is possible so to act upon public opinion that there shall be scarcely a borough in this country where this question of religious equality shall not be fairly considered, and where it will be impossible for a Liberal candidate to present himself without being identified with those who are identified with this great organisation. And who will venture to say what has been the result of the 2,600 meetings that have been held, the distribution of the millions of tracts, and the numerous addresses that have appeared in the newspapers; for it by on means follows that the power that we are exercising is limited to the hearers at these meetings. There is also a strong demand for specific information as to the process which we advise in prospect of the disestablishment of the Church of England. We were told this morning that it is in answer to that demand that a special committee of the society was appointed with the view to look into the Irish Church Act and inquire into its working and results, and there will be read to you this evening a report, entitled, "Practical suggestions," embodying the labours of that Conference. Now I can imagine many gentlemen, who are as sincere adherents of this society as myself, being somewhat doubtful as to the expediency of the step we have taken. If the responsibility had devolved upon us of originating a scheme of disestablishment and disendowment, we might well have shrunk from the work at this moment; but when we are asked, in the face of a strong conviction throughout the country that the Irish Church Act was too lavish in some of its provisions—that there was a great waste of public money—surely it was not unreasonable to point out where this waste of public money arose. What we have done has been to examine the Irish Church Act. If we had been convinced it was a perfect measure, all we should ask the constituencies to do would be to seek a repetition as applied to England; and it is only so far as we have been obliged to object and take exception to some of the provisions of that Act that it has been necessary to put before the public these suggestions rather as alternative proposals. Now, let me say here for the special committee, that we are not so enamoured of our proposals but that if it should be proved they are not the best, we should cheerfully relinquish them. What we want is a further contribution to and discussion of the whole subject, and if it is found the proposals are unjust or insufficient, others can take their places, and we shall be ready to adopt them or fall back upon the Irish Church Act if no better plan presents itself. I have no doubt the adherents of this society will give every consideration to these practical suggestions. It is possible they may be used for a moment in order to get up a clamour against our proposals and against the objects we have in view, but that can only be for a short time. Any stick is good enough to beat a dog with, and our opponents are so out-at-elbow for lack of weapons by which to withstand this onward march, that no doubt they will avail themselves of these proposals by way of damaging the cause we have so much at heart. Notwithstanding all that can be said against them, for this much I can vouch, that they are honest in their aims, that they are considerate towards those who have vested interests in the Church, and that they are intended so to settle the question as that there shall be no serious grievance afterwards; and if it is found they do not hold water, we can at any rate go upon the exhaustive principle, and having eliminated all the unsound principles, we shall at last come to the sound. It is with this confidence the proposals will be laid before you to-night. (Loud applause.)

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIETY.

Mr. GEO. H. BAINES, of Leicester, moved the readoption of the society's constitution. He said he would not take up the time of the conference except to say that, if gentlemen would use it and hand it to their opponents, they would find it a much more favourable weapon than they would think. Now that Conservatism was so fashionable, they could not do better than conserve the society's constitution, which had served them so long.

Mr. C. R. JONES, of Llanfyllan, seconded the motion. He said the meeting would find that there was but very slight change in the constitution, which had served for the last few years. The resolution was carried unanimously.

DISESTABLISHMENT AND DISENDOWMENT.

Mr. J. CARVELL WILLIAMS then read the report of the special committee appointed to prepare suggestions relative to the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England. It commenced by stating that the committee had its origin in a resolution of a conference of the northern friends of the society, held at Manchester, on November 4, 1875, which affirmed the desirableness of preparing a statement of the legal changes involved in disestablishment, and of the principles and methods which should be adopted in disendowing the Established Churches. To give effect to that resolution, the executive committee appointed from their own body a special committee, and gave it authority to obtain whatever assistance might be required for the onerous task with which it was entrusted. As the committee was composed of country as well as town members, and it was felt to be important to secure a full attendance at each sitting, the inquiries and deliberations of the committee necessarily extended over a considerable period. As the result of their labours, the special committee now present two documents, which, as they believe, fulfil, however imperfectly, the purpose for which the committee was appointed. The first is "an inquiry into the property and revenues of the English Establishment"; which has been prepared by Mr. Frederick Martin, an experienced statist, well known as the able compiler of the *Statesman's Year Book*. While all the resources at the society's command were placed at his service, he was expressly instructed to pursue an independent inquiry, with a view to ascertain the actual facts, without any reference to their probable effect as regards the society's object. So far as the committee are able to judge, Mr. Martin has executed with fidelity and skill, as well as great labour, the work assigned to him, and the pamphlet embodying the results of his investigations will be found to be the most complete and valuable collection of facts relative to the origin, nature, and amount of the various descriptions of property now devoted to Church of England purposes, which has yet been presented to the public. The second document contains practical suggestions relative to the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England, to which Church it was considered desirable to confine the attention of the committee. With what success they have discharged the duty undertaken by themselves, the society's supporters will shortly be enabled to decide. In the introductory portion of the suggestions will be found a statement of the objects at which they have aimed, and of the principles which have guided them in coming to the conclusions at which they have arrived. If, while conscious of the difficulty of the task assigned to them, and of the necessarily imperfect manner in which it has been executed, they can, nevertheless, submit their proposals to the candour and the indulgence of their own friends, they may also await without anxiety the rougher handling of less partial, or of avowedly hostile, critics. Considering the importance of the subject, the committee think it desirable to include in their Report a recommendation in regard to the mode in which the suggestions should be dealt with by the Conference. They are of opinion that it would be highly inexpedient to attempt to discuss the suggestions appended to this report at this Conference. As the committee required much time for the preparation of the suggestions, it would obviously be inconsiderate to ask at once for the opinions of others, who have not had the opportunity of considering the subject with equal care. It is therefore proposed that the suggestions should be read only, and that they should then be referred for the consideration of the society's friends, and of the public generally. They will, however, be placed in the hands of the delegates at the close of the sitting, and will forthwith be issued to the public. They may then be deliberately examined by the society's local organisations, as well as by individual supporters, and will, no doubt, be scrutinised with the utmost freedom, both on the platform and in the press. The committee will be well rewarded for their labours if, as the result, those who hesitate to support disestablishment only from doubt as to the practical means of effecting it, are led to see that the change may be made without violating the principles of equity, and without occasioning new evils in place of the ancient evils, the uprooting of which requires such laborious and patient effort.

Mr. HENRY LEE, of Manchester, moved—"That the practical suggestions appended to the report now presented be read for information only, and not for discussion." He said he was sure it would be obvious to the gentlemen present that it would be undesirable to enter into the discussion of a subject like this, so far-reaching, so important in itself, and concerning which the committee had had some differences of opinion, which he trusted had all been reconciled. If the conference should decide to have the suggestions read, he would advise them to take the pamphlet home, read it over and over again, with the document prepared by Mr. Martin, and then the readers would most likely come to some judgment upon the matter. The authors of those practical suggestions were not sure that they would take that shape in the long run, and would be glad to hear any criticisms upon the suggestions with a view to their improvement. The advantage to the society of the suggestions was that, in the first place, it put before the public in a definite shape what the aims of the Disestablishment Society were; from these suggestions Churchmen would see that the Nonconformists desired nothing for themselves, that they were not willing that others should enjoy, and were anxious that the good of the community only should be considered. They had worked in the dissemination of those great principles which they considered were as advantageous for Churchmen as they were for Nonconformists who had nothing to lose by discussion. They had had to bear many hard words in the past, and might have to do so in future. (Cheers.)

The Rev. CHARLES WILLIAMS, of Accrington, seconded the resolution. He quite agreed with the resolution, for the reason that he had had already two opportunities of uniting in discussion on this matter. It was quite true that neither the special committee nor the general committee could agree on all points; he, for one, would never have consented to silence on points of difference; they anti-State-Churchmen were remarkable for their fidelity to conscience and their own convictions. All that could be done would be to commend the suggestions to the consideration of the members and the public at large. They ought to be submitted to the severest criticism of the most careful character, and he hoped that during the next twelve months there would not be a town in England in which a meeting would not be held to consider and discuss the disendowment scheme, after which he hoped they would all come together in London to adopt a scheme, after free debate, as to the merits of that plan. They must look on the Irish Church Act as a warning as well as a guide. Practically, the question of disestablishment was settled. The fear was that it might take place before the question of disendowment was ripe. (Hear, hear.) He had confidence that when they met in three years' time it would be to consider a final scheme for disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England. The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Rev. Mr. MACDOUGALL, of Darwen, moved the following resolution :—

That the Conference desires to thank the special committee for the time and thought which they have devoted to the preparation of the "Practical Suggestions relative to the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of England"; and, without pronouncing any judgment on such suggestions, it requests that they may be published, for the careful consideration of the society's supporters and of the public generally.

He had no fear at all about the reception of this question by the Conference. The suggestions which had been, he might say, in incubation for three years ought to be acceptable after the great consideration they had received during that period. He ventured to prophesy that the next time they met there would be no objection to the general plan of the scheme from what he might call the unskilled portion of the Conference. There would be, of course, some discussion as to the details. It was, he thought, quite time that this scheme appeared. (Cheers.) They had worked hard and formed a formidable public opinion in their favour, and the issue of their labours was now only a matter of time, and a very short time. (Cheers.) They could have disestablishment to-morrow if they said nothing about disendowment. They must not let the Establishment cease on any terms that were not fair and just to the whole nation. (Cheers.) He thought the scheme now proposed was a good one, and the Conference certainly were greatly indebted to the committee for drawing it up. Its publication would clear away much dust and false impression, and it would relieve the State Church defenders of their dread of this society of "thieves and robbers." It would take the matter into a definite field, for as yet they had had nothing like argument to meet. It would educate the bishops especially. (Laughter.) In proof that they wanted educating, he would remind them that the Bishop of Carlisle had likened the Church Defence party to the Jews rebuilding Jerusalem with a tool in one hand and a sword in the other—the tool to work with and the sword to keep off the Liberationists. (Laughter.) He thought the bishops did want a little educating. This scheme would, he hoped, bring out better champions on the other side, and then the struggle would not be long. He trusted that the pamphlet on the subject would be extensively published, but he deprecated so high a price as half-a-crown, because everyone present ought to have a copy, so as to be able generally to maintain the scheme. It had been said that they possessed leaders that won't lead, but he thought that they had too many statesmen who would not do statesmen's work. It was the duty of a statesman to have drawn up a scheme, but they must be thankful that they had done it themselves, for he believed the definite scheme now before them would lead to great results, and in a few years their object would be accomplished. (Cheers.)

Mr. GODDARD, of Ipswich, had much pleasure in seconding the resolution, which was carried without discussion.

The SECRETARY said that copies of the "Suggestions" would be placed in their hands as they left the hall, and the Pamphlet would be sold to members for 2s.; in fact they expected, at least, half that edition to be bought by the other side. (Laughter.)

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

The Rev. MARMADUKE MILLER read an admirable paper on this subject, of which we give the following brief extract, postponing the publication of the paper entire till our next number:—He began by showing that just in proportion as the Church had realised its Divine mission, so had it chafed against the fetters of the Establishment. The Church of England was full of life, but never were there so many signs of dissatisfaction with the anomalous relations in which it stood to the State. During the last three years the Church had been placed in favourable circumstances for effecting reforms, a Conservative Government having been in power. Various bills were early brought into the present Parliament intended to remove scandals and to develop the Church's life. A vigorous effort was early made to reform the laws in relation to Church patronage. The evils complained of were old and deeply rooted, but, to the credit of the bishops, they had courageously denounced this immoral system. The Bishop of Peterborough in 1874 moved for a select committee to inquire, and in 1875 he introduced a bill founded on its report. It was a very moderate bill. It did not propose to take away the right of selling the advowson or the next presentation, but it was so whittled down in committee that nobody felt any interest in it, and so great was the failure that all hope of getting rid of the scandal has vanished. Another widespread evil in the Church, which a Conservative Parliament was early asked to remedy, was the lawlessness and Romanising tendencies of a section of the clergy. The Public Worship Regulation Bill was passed avowedly to put down Ritualism. It had modified the service in two or three churches, and it had sent Mr. Tooth to prison; but Mr. Tooth's imprisonment had done nothing towards putting down Ritualism. To have kept him confined three months longer would have been worth three years' agitation to the Liberation Society. The authorities therefore opened his prison doors, and asked him to walk out. They did not trouble him with a single question about his obedience to the Court, or the payment of costs. This was not unlikely to paralyse the working of the Act. Already the Bishop of Salisbury had given his clergy to understand that, in the discretionary power with which the Act invested him, he would be slow to send a case to the Court of Lord Penzance; and other bishops had spoken in a similar strain. But the Act had done much to rouse into activity dissatisfaction amongst High-Churchmen with the Constitution of the Ecclesiastical Courts. This discontent had manifested itself in various ways, and notably in the recent memorial to the Bishops. Nonconformists sympathised with the members of the Anglican communion in their desire for liberty to make their own laws, to choose their own officers, and to regulate their own services; but the Anglican Church had sold her birthright. Whatever powers of self-government the Church might possess in sacerdotal ages, they were all lost at the time of the Reformation. The living voice was then silenced. The attempt now about to be made to take from Parliament the right of making laws for the Church without first consulting Convocation would shift the bases upon which the Establishment rested. At present the Established Church was a national institution. The clergy were officers in an institution of which the Monarch was the head, of which every member of Parliament was a legislator, and of which every citizen was entitled to be a member. And Nonconformists would be no party to the surrendering of the right of England's Parliament to govern *England's* Church. The Wesleyan Conference, the Presbyterian Synods, the Congregational Union, did not claim to speak for the whole nation. Their creeds and liturgical services had not been sanctioned by Parliament. The clergy of these churches were not sustained out of the revenues, which belonged to the entire nation. If the clergy were prepared to surrender the patronage and emoluments of the State, they might then constitute Convocation as they pleased, increase bishops to their hearts' content, and have what services they liked. But if the Church was still resolved to enjoy the emoluments of the State, she must be content to endure its control; for, as Hallam had well said, "The supremacy of the Legislature is like the collar of the watch-dog, the price of food and shelter, and the condition upon which alone a religious society can be endowed by a prudent commonwealth." Mr. Miller was cheered on resuming his seat.

The Rev. Mr. CROSSKEY (of Birmingham) then moved the following resolution :—

That the Conference thanks the Rev. Marmaduke Miller for his paper on recent events in, and on the present condition of, the English Establishment, and directs that it be published. In doing so, the Conference expresses the conviction that the confusion, the discontent, and the antagonism now prevailing within the Episcopal Church furnish strong reasons why it should cease to be established by law. The Conference cannot but regard with sympathy the desire of Episcopalians to possess the freedom enjoyed by other religious communities; but feels bound to declare that the claims now made by those who resist the control of the State over the Church are incompatible with the position of the Church as a national institution.

Mr. Crosskey observed that the resolution asserted the principle upon which the matter of divergence of feeling and principle in the Church of England should be dealt with by the party who advocated disestablishment. The constant widening of the breaches between the parties of the Church of England was daily making it increasingly important that the relations of the various parties should be made clear and frank. The question before the friends of the society was whether a particular form of religion was to receive the support of the State to which those friends belonged, and whether any theory had a right to national support. When it was claimed that a particular theory of that church—that a sacerdotal form of Christianity should be connected with the State—they became as members of the State responsible for its sacerdotalism. There could be no justice until its disputants left the settlement of their difficulties to those who were outside the Established Church. The question was asked, and was one for consideration, what would happen to those parties when the Church was disestablished and disendowed. The different bodies now officiating in religious matters on behalf of the State must be left to organise themselves, and any restriction of an Episcopal Church must be the voluntary act of those who believed in episcopacy. Upon the disestablishment of the Church those several parties would separate, and each would worship with those with whom he most sympathised. It was urged against the promoters of disestablishment that if their object were effectual there would be a number of different sects in England instead of as now—a beautiful comprehensive Church. He failed to recognise in the present Established Church anything very beautiful or comprehensive. The present union was false in every respect. (Applause.) It was a union in which those who were united used the same words in two or three, or, rather, twenty senses. They agreed as to the form of the words, and disagreed as to their substance. Their union was verbal and not substantial—it was a myth and a figment. The Church at present was far from being a beautiful and comprehensive one. The union was not a union of kindly Christian fellowship. The sects in it were in constant antagonism and in anger with one another, and the union was that of a number of people who greatly disliked each other, but who, sailing in one ship, were thus obliged to endure each other's company. (Applause.) The present union was a false and unhealthy union, and was based on mere verbal agreements having very substantial disagreements. The truer thing for them to do would be to form such a free Church as they chose to form to suit their own convictions and in which to celebrate their worship. They had all witnessed how ecclesiastical authority had dealt with the question of marriage, burial, education, freedom of speech, and how it had dealt with everything connected with the higher culture of religious faith, and they knew that it was a power which, by its nature, was opposed to the free growth and development of man. The only influences which could be left to it were those which it could win over human minds and hearts by its own power. The ecclesiastical authority ought not to be permitted to interfere with the education of England, or with the direction of foreign politics, or with social matters, and the friends of the disestablishment movement were determined that this country should have religion as a sacred thing between God and man alone. (Applause.) They represented the nation, the free religious life of the country, and they were determined to oppose anything and everything that was now restricting their religious right; and that meant that as in this country matters of religion were matters between God and man, their schools should be free from ecclesiastical control. (Applause.) They would not stand by and be robbed of their endowed schools as they had been robbed up and down the country. (Applause.)

The Rev. Mr. ARNOLD, of Northampton, seconded the resolution, remarking that those who were in the habit of having much intercourse with Churchmen would have found out that the Churchmen themselves would acknowledge that there were great divisions in the Church—divisions which led to heart-burnings, schisms, and contentions of the very bitterest description. Those persons would also admit that if the Church were disestablished and disendowed, it would fall into a great number of sects diverging as much from one another as any of those bodies which were at present in existence. Those who were outside the Church had suffered for two centuries by the enactments which the High Church party had declared to be contrary to the laws of the Church—they were suffering from things which were now dividing the Church right and left. As they were a part of the State, with them, as well as with the members of the Church, lay the settlement of the question. The disputes which had been for a long time, and which were now going on, had brought the religion in which they gloried into the utmost disrespect, not only in this country but all over the world; and in the name of their common Christianity, which was disgraced and disturbed, and brought into ridicule, they were determined upon the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church; and they said to Churchmen who asked what business they had to interfere with their affairs that what they were doing was no intrusion on their part, for they came simply as Christian brethren to help to break the bonds under which they suffered. (Applause.)

The resolution, on being put to the meeting, was carried unanimously.

The evening's proceeding were then brought to a close.

THIRD SITTING—WEDNESDAY.

The Conference resumed its sitting yesterday morning, and there was a good attendance of delegates and of visitors in the gallery. On the motion of Mr. LANGLEY, of Sheffield, seconded by Mr. NUNNELEY, of Market Harboro', Mr. W. S. Allen, M.P., was elected chairman.

The CHAIRMAN, after apologising for filling the chair, as he was a comparatively "new-comer," said: When your esteemed secretary invited me, he told me he wished to have a Wesleyan Methodist as chairman—(Hear, hear)—and then he looked at me doubtfully, as much as to say, "I wish I could have got a better one." (Laughter.) I remember the time when there was very little love lost between the Wesleyan Methodists and the members of the Liberation Society. (Hear, hear.) I am glad to say a very different state of things exists now. (Applause.) I have, of course, no right to speak on behalf of the Wesleyan body, but as a private member, and do not wish to compromise that body; but this I do say, that a very marked change has taken place in the public opinion of the Wesleyan body during the last twenty-five years with respect to the principles of the Liberation Society. (Hear, hear.) Before then you would scarcely have found a single Wesleyan minister, and you would have found very few influential Wesleyan layman, and I don't think you would have found one out of three of the great body of Wesleyans, who would have been favourable to to the great principles of this society. But what is the case now? Why, a very large number of Wesleyan ministers, especially amongst the young men, are favourable to your principles—(applause)—and a large number of influential laymen are thoroughly with you; and the whole of the Wesleyan members of Parliament, though they are only five in number, are, I believe, pledged to the principle of disestablishment and disendowment. I believe, if a poll were taken at the present time of the members of Wesleyan societies in these three kingdoms, you

would find at least three out of four thoroughly with you. (Applause.) We cannot too highly estimate the advantage of gaining over a great religious body like the Wesleyan Methodists, numbering some 380,000 among its members in these three kingdoms. I believe that this gain will tell in a very important degree at the next general election in influencing the constituencies. (Hear, hear.) With respect to the question of disestablishment and the Liberal party, which is down for consideration this morning, there are two questions which meet us at the very outset—first, Is disestablishment gaining ground amongst the Liberal party? secondly, Is it desirable that the party should take up the question as a party question? (Applause.) Now, with respect to the first, I believe it is so. (Hear, hear.) I can point to the case of my own borough (Newcastle-under-Lyme), one of moderate size, and in which political parties are very evenly balanced. Some years ago the leaders of the Liberal party there certainly had Conservative tendencies. It is a borough in which there is no Ritualism, and where exists a singularly friendly feeling between Churchmen and Nonconformists, the clergy coming to Nonconformist bazaars, and showing a very kindly feeling. (Hear, hear.) When I first came forward as a candidate in 1865, I don't think that any man would have stood a chance of being adopted as a Liberal candidate who had pronounced opinions in favour of Liberation principles, or that if he had been adopted he would have stood a chance of being elected; but now I believe that no candidate would have the least chance of being adopted by the Liberal party unless he was thoroughly in favour of your principles. (Applause.) When some three months ago a vacancy was expected at Newcastle, two candidates came before the Liberal council, and one was in favour of disestablishment, and the other not. What was the result? The one in favour of disestablishment was adopted by an overwhelming majority, and I have not the slightest doubt if the election had taken place, that he would have been returned. This, I think, is a great fact as to a borough in which Conservative principles have been very strong. (Hear, hear.) I don't know that it is at all an exceptional case, for I believe that amongst the constituencies your principles are taking very firm hold. (Hear, hear.) I am glad that the Liberation Society is doing such a noble work in educating the people on this question. I was delighted to see that during the last three years no less than 2,600 meetings have been held, and that the astounding number of between five and six millions of publications has been sent forth. (Hear, hear.) Depend upon it these are producing very great results, and the fruit will soon appear—(Hear, hear)—and you will reap the harvest of success. (Applause.) I believe it to be of very great importance, and hope I may be pardoned for mentioning it, that at all these meetings anything like intemperate and uncharitable language should be strictly avoided; and exaggerated statements should be carefully guarded against. Perhaps in years gone by a certain harm was done by various expressions that were dropped on the platforms of the Liberation Society, and I believe that some moderate men were deterred from joining your ranks. I make this remark in all kindness and sincerity. (Hear, hear.) It must also be remembered that there are a large number of Churchmen who are sound Liberals, and though they may not, at present, be educated up to our views, I think there is very great hope, without in the least degree compromising our principles, of persuading them; for, after all, our great point should be to show that we have no enmity or hostility to the Church of England as a Church, but simply as an Establishment. (Hear, hear.) I now come to the question, Is it desirable that disestablishment should be taken up by the Liberals as a party question? As a moderate man, I think a great deal may be said on both sides of the question. Undoubtedly, if it were taken up in that sense at present by our leaders, it would drive a certain number of Liberals from our ranks, and would lose us some constituencies, and it might result in keeping the Conservatives in power a few years longer. On the other hand, it would undoubtedly strengthen our hands by giving us a definite policy—(applause)—for I believe that is what the Liberal electors of the country want at the present time. (Hear, hear.) They want a definite policy placed before them which they can advocate and can rally round. If the Liberal electors get a definite policy you will very soon find the Liberal members will have a definite policy—(Hear, hear)—and if the Liberal members get a definite policy you will soon find those far-sighted men who sit on the Opposition front bench will get a definite policy as well, for I can clearly see they are getting very hungry, greedy, and anxious. (Loud laughter.) It is clear that wherever there is the slightest chance of returning a man who is pledged to the principles of disestablishment and disendowment every possible effort should be made to do so. (Hear, hear.) Wherever a strong Liberal can be got instead of one who is half-hearted, unquestionably the former should be chosen. (Hear, hear.) Then also a little judicious pressure might be placed on our representatives, not that I mean you should induce them to vote contrary to their convictions, but you should convince them on this point. (Applause and laughter.) I know from experience that the arguments of constituents are generally very cogent and very logical—(laughter)—and the representatives of the people are very much disposed to be convinced by their constituents. (Hear, hear.) In fact, although members of Parliament are not altogether such an amiable set of men as they are generally represented to be, their amiability extends in a peculiar manner to their constituents. (Laughter.) I once heard the anecdote of a young person who gave notice to her mistress. The mistress said: "Why do you want to leave?" "Because, ma'am, I'm going to be married." "Married," said the lady; "I did not know you had a beau?" "Well," answered the girl, "I have not exactly got a beau, but I am of such an amiable disposition that I feel I could love any man." (Loud laughter.) Now, I think that is the state of feeling with a great many candidates at the time of a general election—they are in such an amiable frame of mind that they feel very kindly disposed to all the electors, and are quite ready to pledge themselves as far as they conscientiously can. (Laughter, and "Hear, hear.") I will not allude to the subjects of the other papers, because they will be fully treated hereafter; but I dare say you have all read the most admirable speech delivered in the House of Commons by Mr. Alderman McArthur on the subject of the religious establishments in India and Ceylon—a speech that did the greatest credit to his ability, and which told with very great effect on the House of Commons. (Hear, hear.) I regret that I was shut out just as the division bell was ceasing to ring. Misfortunes, however, happen to everyone, and that was one for me. Now let us take for a single moment a comprehensive view of the forces that are ranged on both sides of this question, and the prospects we have of ultimate and speedy success. When we look at this kingdom we find on one side the Church of England strong and powerful, and for some years unusually active and energetic. That Church is dear to the hearts of hundreds and thousands in this kingdom; and the members and clergy of that Church are almost to a man opposed to our principles. On the other hand, standing with a united front, are the great Nonconformist bodies, not only Congregationalists, Baptists, Primitive Methodists, Free Methodists, and New Connexion Methodists, but the vast majority of the Wesleyan Methodists. (Applause.) Then again, after all the strength of the Church of England is more apparent than real, for I see in that Church three parties, and a house divided against itself is not very likely to stand long. (Applause.) Many of the most earnest and energetic Ritualists, also, are quickly coming over to the idea that disestablishment would not be such a very bad thing. (Hear, hear.) Taking this comprehensive view of the forces on both sides, I cannot but conclude that our victory is certain, and that it is not so distant as many suppose. (Hear, hear.) I hope the day will come when Mr. Gladstone—(loud cheers)—will see his way to deal in a great and comprehensive and fair manner with this important question. (Applause.) I believe there is no other man so able and so competent to deal with it, and no man so likely as he to bring it to a satisfactory conclusion. (Cheers.) I believe certain victory is before us; that just as surely as the setting sun will rise again, and as surely as the ebbing tide will flow once more, so the day is surely coming when our principles will triumph. (Loud cheers.)

THE NEW COUNCIL OF THE LIBERATION SOCIETY.

Mr. GEORGE DOWMAN, of Southampton, as the the chairman of the committee, presented the report of the Committee of Selection nominating the officers, committee, and council. He said it was with much pleasure he brought before them the names of those gentlemen who were to carry on the work of the society for another three years. He remembered that those who first started that important work were becoming feeble and gray in the good service, and the difficulty was to inspire the young men of the present generation with the same sentiments as had actuated the older ones for so many years. He remembered the first meeting, at the Crown and Anchor, Strand, and the men who started the Anti-State-Church Association, when they hoped to see the great work accomplished long ere the present time. He had hoped to see the result in his lifetime, but feared the thing was rather more distant than he then anticipated; although at the same time he felt that, as the ball descends a hill it increases in momentum. During the next three years those who have been appointed to carry on that great work in the council would give increased energy, increased devotedness, to that great work, and what they wanted was that their friends who had families growing up around them, would strive to prevent them passing away into ecclesiastical slavery, and would inspire them with the love of freedom which they themselves possessed. The great want was to hand down the same desire for freedom of religion throughout the land. He for one thought it was quite time some good question was given to the Liberal party upon which to unite, and none other could be so well adapted for the purpose as disestablishment. (Cheers.)

Mr. PICKERING PERRY, of Northampton, in moving the acceptance of the names proposed by the committee of selection, said they had confidence in the committee and also in the men chosen, many of whom had served the society from its birth to the present moment. With the younger ones, they would no doubt efficiently serve them for the next three years, although it might be doubtful, and he did not intend to prophesy when the change they desired would take place—the separation of the Church from the State—but he hoped they would be the last workers in the great cause. (Cheers.)

The Rev. J. ROBERTS, of Sheffield, seconded the motion.

Mr. THOMAS BLAKE, M.P., felt inclined to imitate the brevity of the gentleman who had just sat down, but he would have felt ashamed if he had not put in an appearance that morning. He also owed an apology for not being present at last night's division. He was then at Regent's Park, at the presentation of 1,000*l.* to Dr. Landels—(cheers)—and when he got back at eight o'clock he found to his great mortification he was too late. Their excellent friends Mr. Richard and Mr. Samuel Morley were also absent from the division. But they might congratulate themselves and take encouragement from what there occurred. He had been spoken of as the member for Ross, but though he lived at Ross he was member for Leominster. He went there as it appeared there was a seat worth contesting, and won it with nearly 100 majority, and did so without trimming. (Hear, hear.) He believed a man, whatever were his principles, if he spoke them out fairly and faithfully, would be respected, even by his opponents, all the more highly. He was opposed by the interests aristocratic, clerical, and others, but succeeded. In Parliament he found repeated every day by a clergymen, to whom was paid 400*l.* a year, a prayer which sought guidance and blessings, which the leading politicians present there seemed to make no efforts to carry out. When Mr. Justice Lush went to Hereford, he said to his brother judge, "I am a Baptist, there is a Baptist Chapel in this place, and I intend to go," and go he did. (Cheers.) As long as he had a seat in Parliament, as long as he had time to use on behalf of this society, he would never be dumb upon this question. Their cause was gathering strength. It was founded on truth, and justice, it was prayed for every day, and he did hope it would soon be successful. (Cheers.)

The Rev. G. S. ORDISH, of Bolton, asked whether supposing the names on the list—the six hundred—had not a sufficient recommendation from the local councils, or supposing that other gentlemen might be proposed by local councils, had the committee power to add to to this number, or substitute others?

Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS said the number of the members of the council was limited by the constitution to 600; the number contained in the list did not reach that figure; the margin would, therefore, be available for the purpose suggested by Mr. Ordish. There was no formal method of nomination, but any suggested names sent to the committee would be duly considered. Representatives could not afterwards be taken off and others put on. The power of the executive committee was exhausted when the council had been appointed, otherwise it would be too large.

The resolution was then put and carried.

The Rev. THOMAS MICHAEL, of Halifax, moved:

That the gentlemen whose names have been presented by the committee of selection be the society's counsel for the next three years; with power to the executive committee to fill up vacancies.

Mr. BOARER, of Folkestone, seconded the resolution. It did not require any comment from him, but the list had been carefully prepared.

The Rev. J. T. BROWN (Chairman of the Baptist Union) said he was in a very curious predicament, as he did not know what the resolution was, but he would support it anyhow. (Laughter.) It did not matter at all; he had such faith in their secretary, and the managers of the society, that without any inquiry at all, and in the most implicit belief, he would say it was an exceedingly proper resolution to pass—(laughter)—it was the appointment of somebody to do some work; and he was sure the appointment had been made with great wisdom. (Renewed laughter.) He only put in his appearance late; he had been engaged from early in the morning elsewhere, and had no speaking power left in him at all, but he should not like that conference to go without his voice being heard, inasmuch as he was present at the very beginning of that society, and had watched with the utmost interest its progress all along, and done as much as he could for it, and with years his sympathy for it increased. Inasmuch as there were some who were showing signs of failure, not of heart and sympathy, but of power, he was glad to see others rising to take their places, and as the most serious time of all was coming, he was glad that the council of the society was of the kind it was. (Cheers.)

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

THE SECRETARIAT OF THE SOCIETY.

Mr. ELLINGTON, chairman of the Executive Committee, then presented the special report relative to secretariat, which commenced by saying that for many years the committee had not had to make a report in any matter of internal administration of equal importance and interest, and one occasioning so much regret to themselves, as that which now devolved upon them to present to the conference. They referred to the intended resignation of Mr. Carvell Williams of his office of secretary to the society. Mr. Williams, in announcing his intention to the committee, stated that in August next he will have acted as the society's secretary for thirty years, and that, as he had no longer the strength required for the incessant toil and heavy responsibility of the secretariat, resulting from the extension of the society's operations, and the growing importance of the movement, he felt it to be needful for himself, and thought it would also be advantageous to the society, that, at the time named, he should retire from office, and also from the editorship of the *Liberator*, which he will have held for twenty-two years. The committee feel that

they would be doing injustice to the sentiments of the members of the conference, as well as their own, if they did not, at the outset, give the strongest possible expression to their sense of the value of the services which Mr. Williams has rendered to the society for a period of thirty years. The remarkable and continuous growth of the society's influence during that time has been largely due to his practical sagacity, unfailing tact, inexhaustible energy, and unselfish devotion to its interests. Yet, while regretting the necessity for any change, the committee, on a review of the extent and variety of the work for many years devolving upon Mr. Williams, cannot feel surprise that he should seek to be relieved from the pressure of secretarial duties. It will be in the recollection of the older members of the Society, that on its formation in 1844, the secretarial duties were undertaken by the Rev. Dr. Cox, Mr. J. M. Hare, and Mr. Edward Miall, as joint honorary secretaries. This arrangement was necessarily of a temporary character only, and at the end of three years, viz., in 1847, it was resolved to appoint a permanent secretary, and Mr. Williams was selected to fill that office. In 1854 the operations of the society had become so largely extended, that it was found needful to increase the official staff, and a permanent chairman of the parliamentary and electoral committee, and a travelling secretary and financial agent were appointed. When, after an interval of several years, those officers resigned it was deemed desirable to consolidate their duties, which were undertaken, for the most part, by Mr. Williams. Subsequently an accountant was appointed to take charge of the books and accounts, and about two years since Mr. Fisher was appointed "organising and travelling agent," an appointment rendered necessary by the great extension of the society's agencies, and of its lecturing operations throughout the country. From this brief review it will be seen that, during many years, labours which were previously shared by three official representatives of the society very largely devolved upon one. This has happened concurrently with a great extension of the society's operations, and the committee therefore anticipate that the conference will agree with them in the opinion that a due regard to his health fully justifies Mr. Williams in desiring relief from, at least, some portion of the toil and responsibility of office. Happily for the interests of society, Mr. Williams' announcement of his intention was accompanied with the intimation that he did not wish wholly to sever his official connection with the society, and by the offer, if suitable arrangements could be made, to continue to conduct the society's Parliamentary and electoral business. The committee could have no hesitation in accepting this offer; but they were, at the same time, deeply sensible of the importance of securing the continued supervision of the work of the society by Mr. Williams, as well as of retaining him in his present position as its official representative before the country. Having conferred with Mr. Williams on these points, they are glad to be able to announce that the following new arrangements will be made on his retirement from the secretaryship—viz., that he will be appointed to the office of chairman of the society's Parliamentary and electoral committee; that he will also be deputy-chairman of the executive committee; and that he will have a general superintendence of the society's work and of its official staff, while he is, at the same time, exempted from responsibility for merely secretarial duties. It will, of course, be needful not merely to provide for the discharge of the duties of the secretaryship, but also to make new arrangements in regard to the society's official staff generally. These matters will receive the early attention of the executive committee, who, remembering the society's past history in connection with its official relationships, do not doubt that it will be served in the future, as it has heretofore been, with fidelity, devotedness, and zeal, and that the members of its staff will continue to enjoy the entire confidence of the constituency.

Mr. ELLINGTON said he could not discharge what he felt to be a personal duty if he did not add one word to the report. It had been his good fortune to be associated with Mr. Williams for many years past, and he (Mr. Ellington) could bear his personal testimony to every word which found expression in the report. It would be a matter of extreme regret to him if it had been necessary to separate Mr. Williams from the work of the society. (Hear, hear.) He had everything at his fingers'-ends, and he was happy to think that his power of organisation would not be lost to them. (Cheers.)

The Rev. J. G. ROGERS, B.A., moved:—

That, in receiving the report now presented, this conference, while regretting that Mr. Carvell Williams feels obliged to relinquish the onerous secretarial duties which he has discharged with such untiring zeal and conspicuous ability during the lengthened period of thirty years, is gratified to learn that the Executive Committee have been able to make such arrangements as will retain for the society the services and experience of Mr. Williams, and enable him to continue to exercise a general supervision of its operations. In expressing cordial satisfaction with the proposed arrangements relative to the official staff, the conference desires specially to convey to Mr. Williams its grateful appreciation of his unwavering devotion to the interests of the society, and its sense of the deep obligation under which he has placed its friends and supporters. The conference also heartily reciprocates the sentiment expressed by the committee, that the official representatives of the society will continue to enjoy the entire confidence of the constituency.

He said that the duty being cast upon him of moving that resolution reminded him he was becoming one of the older members of the society, and it was on that account alone, he supposed, that he was asked to propose it. If it had been a resolution dealing with the actual resignation of Mr. Williams, he felt it would have been extremely painful to have moved it at all in that assembly, but it was really not a retirement but simply a promotion. (Hear, hear.) It was said that translation profited nothing except to bishops: yet he wished to see whether promotion might not at all events prove of some advantage to themselves and to their secretary; that they might take him and make him, as far as they could, prime minister of the society—(Hear, hear)—a position it was to be hoped he would occupy for some years to come. Of course they would not see him conduct the business of those conferences in the way in which he had been accustomed to do, and the truth was that brain power and organising power such as his, was far too valuable to the society to have it expended upon mere details of mechanical arrangement. He was fitted for other work, not merely by his ability, but by his lengthened experience, which few others could command. His work would be very largely in connection with the political arrangements of the society. That was an indication that they felt their political work—their Parliamentary work—was likely to be very much larger and more important in future than it had been in the past—(cheers)—an indication of their belief that Mr. Williams would have very important work to do in the lobby of the House of Commons; and it was an expression of their desire that some constituency in the kingdom would understand that if Mr. Williams was to rise to the full measure of his duties, his best place would be not outside, but inside the House. (Loud cheers) A resolution like that he had moved permitted both a personal and general retrospect. Their first secretary—passing over the three gentlemen who had previously so nobly served them—their servant for thirty years, was about to close his secretarial relations with them. That reminded them they were getting into a new generation. His (the speaker's) place would have been better filled by one whose physical infirmities prevented him being with them that day, but whose name would never be forgotten—(loud cheers)—and whose work would be recorded when the history of the society came to be written. No words were sufficient to express how much the cause owed to the noble self-devotion, earnest eloquence, and untiring exertions, of the founder of that society—their noble friend Edward Miall. (Renewed cheers.) They had a right to say that they had in the servants of that society during the thirty years which had already elapsed men who, if they had laboured in other capacities, would have secured very high honour and distinction. (Cheers.) Mr. Williams had concentrated all his talent and energy on the work of the society, and he deserved honour for his unselfish devotion to the great principles of religious equality. (Cheers.) That self-sacrifice ought to be the more honoured when they had got it in so eminent a degree in their friend, who was retiring from his secretarial duties, knowing that the work was in a very different state to what it was when he entered upon it. If Nonconformists did all they could, no man on earth could persuade him (the speaker) that the uprising of one-half of the religious people in this country would not be sufficient to terminate the social and political wrong of an Established Church. (Cheers.) But, after all, it was not a question for Nonconformists exclusively; it was a question for the nation; a question of national freedom; and of the division of the nation into two political parties; a question of how long a free people intended to be over-ridden by aspiring sacerdotalism. (Loud cheers.) It was not a question between Dissenters and Churchmen, but between a privileged sect and the whole of the nation besides; and Mr. Williams would be able to reflect that he had helped to raise it to its present high level. (Cheers.) The winter of their discontent had been keen and severe. Recently there seemed to be the bright flush of a coming spring, but it had been succeeded by an east wind blowing from Salford. But that wind was not likely to blow for ever. They were not passing to December but to June. They were going forward to a glorious summer and a rich fruitage. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. E. S. ROBINSON, of Bristol, in seconding the resolution, said he very cordially joined in the feeling of admiration which had been expressed by Mr. Rogers, for the zeal and devotion which had always characterised the way in which Mr. Williams had conducted the affairs of the society for thirty years. He would not, in his presence, and conscious of the way in which the society viewed those services, say any more upon that subject. He (Mr. Robinson) thought that public bodies had reason to be specially thankful—the Liberation Society especially so—for the admirable way in which their secretarial duties had been performed. The promotion of Mr. Williams was not only an act of expediency, but one of necessity, arising from the enlarged operations of the society; and he would conclude by saying that he hoped Mr. Williams would be spared for some years to do what they were now asking of him, viz, to lead the operations of the society. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously, amidst much applause.

Mr. J. CARVELL WILLIAMS, who was received with great cheering—the audience rising to their feet—said that happily he was not called upon that day to deliver a valedictory address, and he did not think the occasion a suitable one for indulging in those reminiscences which the proceedings of the morning naturally suggested. But he would be strangely insensible if he did not feel deeply, after listening to the expressions which had fallen from those who had addressed the meeting, as well as the response which had been given to them by the Conference, and he should be wanting in his duty towards them, as well as doing himself a great injustice, if he did not express emphatically, though briefly, his gratitude to the Executive Committee for the spirit in which they received his intimation, and the arrangements that had been made. Next to the mover and seconder of the motion just adopted, and lastly to the Conference for the cordial manner in which they had passed it. He had the gratification of feeling that this was no formal, unreal proceeding, but that the resolution expressed what was meant, that the speakers had given utterance to the feelings of their hearts, and he had also the gratification of feeling that much of what had been said by way of encomium to himself had not been wholly undeserved. (Cheers.) His feelings that day were of a very mingled character. As he looked back upon the last thirty years, he was amazed at the amount of work that had been done—not by himself only, but by others with whom he had been associated, in London and all through the country; at the sustained energy with which the work had been carried on; at the liberality shown by the Society's supporters. He was not like his friend Mr. Dowman; for when he put his hand to this work, he expected that his children might see the end, but not himself; but now, he believed, if his life was spared a short time longer, both generations would witness it. (Hear, hear.) But he could not but feel grieved as he thought of the many personal changes in the constitution of the society since he, as an obscure youth, was first called upon to fill the secretaryship. The whole of the original members of the executive committee had either left the world or were enfeebled by age and infirmity, until Mr. Miall was the only remaining member of the London committee who sat at their board thirty years ago. But there was a more cheering sign—the presence of men so new to the work that he must own their faces were unknown to him, all young and vigorous men. They had evidence that the work which God put it into the mind of the founders of the society to begin in 1844 would be successfully completed by other men in His own good time, and might that day come soon! (Loud cheers.)

The chairman then vacated the chair, which was taken by Mr. Edward Jenkins, M.P.

DISESTABLISHMENT IN RELATION TO THE LIBERAL PARTY AND ELECTORAL ACTION.

Mr. CHARLES MIALL, being called upon by the Chairman, then read a paper on this subject, of which the following is an outline. He argued that, as the principle of disestablishment had been enshrined in the statute-book, Parliament had established the precedent that the ecclesiastical property of State churches was held in trust for the good of the whole community, and could be freely resumed at the will of the Legislature. The Irish Church Act having been the special work of the Liberals, that party could now only defend the Church Establishments of England and Scotland on grounds of expediency. Reasons were given why the Liberals, being at the present moment without official responsibility or any definite programme, ought to regard this as something more than a theoretical grievance—such as, that the Anglican priesthood is more than ever aggressive; that it has virtually reduced the Public Worship Act to a nullity; that it questions the decisions of our courts of law, and claims powers of ecclesiastical legislation never recognised by the British Constitution; that the State yields to its pressure, as in the burials agitation; and that there has been legislation in respect to the churches on both sides of the Tweed which restricts their scope, destroys their national character, and virtually constitutes them sects. All this is against the traditions and creed of the Liberal party. In answer to the plea that disestablishment is outside the range of practical politics, it was contended that the Church is, and always has been, a potent and injurious element in our political and social life, and a drag chain upon national progress. It is shown that for the last half-century every great reform has had to encounter the opposition of the Church, and that much of the time of our secular Parliament is taken up with ecclesiastical questions, arising out of its claims or vested interests, and is often wasted in resisting Church aggression. It is a grave national evil that in the rural districts clerical influences and pretensions are on the increase, that it uses parochial charities, its educational machinery, and its social *prestige* to promote sectarian objects, hindering freedom of worship and the granting of sites, and that in many districts landlords have, by the arbitrary use of their power, in respect to leases and the letting of farms, well-nigh exterminated Dissent. Coincident with a marked and general spread of intelligence throughout the country has been the revival of sacerdotal claims among the clergy, which aggravates the evils described. Their reflex influence has told so disastrously upon the party of progress that at the last election nine-tenths of the county seats were carried by the Conservatives, who almost exclusively received the support of the Church, because the instincts of the

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FOR FAMILY READING.

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*** We have received a great number of communications which it is quite impossible to make use of this week.

The Nonconformist.
THURSDAY, MAY 3, 1877.

SUMMARY.

WE have not yet any news of special importance from the seat of war. Each Power is advancing its troops, and it is quite certain that a great battle is imminent. In Asia Minor the Turks report small successes, and the Russians also claim trifling advantages. Hobart Pasha has made a daring run up the Danube that he might see for himself how things looked with the Russians who were being massed for the invasion. He had no experience of torpedoes, and passed by great guns, which, if the Russians had been quick, would have settled him and his crew. The notion that the heavy gunboats of the Porte could be used to impede the crossing of the river by the Russians is now given up. Of actual fighting intelligence, the most important is that a battle was fought at Kars on Sunday, when the Turks were dislodged from all their positions. The next day they made a desperate attempt to regain their lost ground, but in vain.

Far more interesting than the news relating to battles or impending battles is the intelligence which comes to us of the doings of each of the Great Powers. England, France, and Italy have each issued declarations of neutrality. The good offices of Germany on behalf of Russians in Turkey and of England on behalf of Turks in Russia are declined; since Turkey has determined on driving all Russian residents out of her dominions, and does not want her own subjects in Russia to be protected at all.

A supposed threat on the part of Russia that she would not permit the Khedive to render aid to Turkey must be taken for what it is worth. The Khedive does not heed it, for at a sitting of the Assembly of Notables, summoned for the purpose, he declared that he would send troops to Turkey, and added that his son, Hassan, was about to start to have the honour of defending "the just cause and sacred rights of the Empire." Information comes from Arabia that great excitement prevails there, and that a Mahomedan war feeling is spreading, which may result in Turkey obtaining soldiers and supplies from the first centre of the faith. It is, indeed, already announced that the Scheriff of Mecca is equipping 4,000 men and sending them ready for war to the Sultan.

Just a little interest still attaches to the position of affairs in Roumania. Russia, in effect, occupies it at present, but is evidently bent on making her troops careful of their conduct while there. Everything needed is paid for at the time, and Russia by proclamation states her desire to respect the territory as much as may be possible under the circumstances.

Before leaving Kischeneff the Czar attended a banquet, at which he proposed the health of the Grand Duke, and spoke of the enthusiasm and admirable condition of the troops. In reply, the Grand Duke declared that he and the troops under his command were bent on spending themselves to the last drop of their blood.

But the chief interest during the week in relation to the great crisis is as to the position Great Britain is likely to take now that war has actually begun. An important turn of policy is manifested by certain papers which have, since last summer, done all they could to damage Russia and indirectly to aid Turkey. The object now seems to be to frighten the nation into the belief that Russia's object is wholly conquest, and that the relief of the Christian subjects of Turkey is only a sham. It is actually asserted that the direct aim of Russia is Constantinople, and that the interests of Great Britain in India are even now seriously jeopardised. Fortunately, there are other journals which have the good sense to counteract the influence of panic-mongers, and for one thing show the utter absurdity of the chimera that Russia can hit us through Constantinople. Of course much has been said in Parliament on the Eastern Question, and new interest was created on Friday night when Mr. C. Howard gave notice that Mr. Gladstone intended submitting a series of resolutions to the House. On Monday Mr. Gladstone read his resolutions, five in number, and at the same time stated that the action he had taken was on his own responsibility. He did not speak as a member of a party or of a section of a party. The noticeable thing about these resolutions is that they embody the assertions made by Lord Derby at various times, and seek to obtain from the Government such a declaration of policy as will make it impossible, humanly speaking, for us to drift into war for Turkey out of fear for Russia. Of course, the Government at once named a night for debating the resolutions, and Monday next will, we think, be important in the annals of Parliament. At a Cabinet meeting yesterday the Ministers considered how they should meet Mr. Gladstone's attack, and it is said that, passing by Sir John Lubbock's notice that he would move the Previous Question, they will at once ask for a vote of confidence. Of course they will get one. It is also worth noting that the chief members of the late Liberal Cabinet met at Lord Granville's, and are said to have decided not to support Mr. Gladstone, but to go with Sir J. Lubbock for the Previous Question.

The leading Parliamentary events of the week are noticed elsewhere. We have not space to report this week the debate on Mr. Alderman M'Arthur's motion relative to ecclesiastical subsidies in Ceylon. The hon. member for Lambeth stated his case with great clearness and force, and was supported by Mr. Baxter, Sir George Campbell, and Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen. The tone of Mr. Lowther and the Chancellor of the Exchequer in opposing the motion was apologetic, and it was rejected by the slender majority of 26 (147 to 121), which would have been considerably less but for the accidental absence of some of Mr. M'Arthur's supporters. Yesterday Mr. Osborne Morgan, in withdrawing his Burials Bill, which stood for second reading, announced that when the Government measure came down to the Commons, he should move a resolution embodying the principles of his own bill. Slow progress has been made with the Universities Bill in committee, and many days will probably elapse before the struggle takes place on the clause relative to clerical fellowships, which Mr. Goschen proposes to add to the bill. Some weighty remarks on this subject were made by the Hon. Lyulph Stanley and Mr. Frederic Harrison at Tuesday morning's sitting of the Liberation Conference.

ENGLISH NEUTRALITY AND ITS ASSAILANTS.

ON Monday night the leaders of the Opposition in both Houses of Parliament asked Ministers whether, having regard to the outbreak of hostilities between Russia and Turkey, Her Majesty's Government had decided to issue a Proclamation of Neutrality. The answer to that question is practically contained in a special edition of the *London Gazette*, published on the same evening, and also in a letter addressed by Lord Derby to the Lords of the Admiralty, directing them to enforce at all the ports of the British Empire, certain rules for the observance of neutrality. The proclamation does not essentially differ from previous documents of the same description. The terms of the Foreign Enlistment Act, which perhaps are more stringent than most people imagine, are set forth in detail; and if rigidly enforced, those bellicose members of the military profession who, it is said, are thirsting for active service under the Ottoman banner, must be content to submit to the routine life of Aldershot or Woolwich. British subjects are warned that if they accept, or induce other persons to accept, any engagement in the military or naval service of either belligerent, they will be guilty of a criminal offence, for which they will be punished with fine or imprisonment. The building, equipment, or despatch of ships for the use of a foreign State at war with a friendly State, also involves similar consequences, as well as the forfeiture of the ships to Her Majesty. Persons are warned that any attempt to fit out expeditions in the interest of either belligerent, will equally come under the condemnation of the law. The proclamation further declares that upon reasonable and probable cause being shown, the Secretary of State

is authorised to seize and detain any suspected vessel until she has been either condemned or released by process of law; while, lastly, British subjects are told that if they endeavour to break any blockade lawfully established by either of the belligerents, they will rightly incur the penalties denounced by the law of nations. Lord Derby, in his despatch to the Admiralty, informs the naval authorities that the ships-of-war of either belligerent are prohibited from making use of any port in the British dominions for any warlike purpose; and, unless prevented by stress of weather, such vessels must remain in port for a period of not longer than twenty-four hours, and must only take in provisions and coal sufficient for immediate use.

Such in substance are the terms of the Royal Proclamation, and so far as words can commit a nation to a policy of strict neutrality, we may be said to occupy that position. Nevertheless, it would be absurd for us to attempt to blink the fact that our neutrality is being subjected to the same kind of strain that it experienced during the civil war in the United States. Many of our readers will remember that the pro-Southern party in this country made the most active efforts to force the Government to espouse the side of the Southern Confederacy in that great struggle. The Northern States were then denounced for their selfishness and their ambition, just as Russia is now being similarly denounced; while British interests, in the shape of cotton, were then made the pretext for our interference, just as, at the present time, we are told that Russia, by her operations in Asia Minor and her possible march on Constantinople, is threatening the highway to our Indian possessions. So far as we can judge, the same political elements are at work now as were employed to involve us in the calamities of war during the American conflict. The Tory party at that period were the war party; and at this moment, while the Government are pledged to neutrality, it is well known that no small proportion of the members who sit on the Ministerial benches are eager to hound them on to war in defence of Turkish rule. It would not be difficult to pursue the parallel further, for in that crisis as well as in the present, there were so-called Liberals who did not hesitate to play the game of a reckless and an unpatriotic faction. To Mr. Roebuck, for example, belongs the unique distinction of having, within the walls of Parliament, championed two of the worst causes upon which the civilised world has ever been called to pronounce judgment.

We hope that the country will be warned in time. Once before it has had painful experience of the drifting policy—a policy which is eminently calculated to result in disaster. Our opponents have already endeavoured to make our neutrality a sham. They would have had the Government give to Hobart Pasha a *quasi*-official sanction; and even now they desire Lord Derby to reply to the Czar's declaration of war in formal language of defiance. The Government, it is true, are influenced by a sense of responsibility which appears to be entirely wanting among many of their followers; but nevertheless there are many indications that the latter intend to be persistent in their determination to involve us in the contest. The *Daily Telegraph* deservedly enjoys the reputation of being the principal organ of the Foreign Office; and as if to mark this fact, only a few days ago Lord Derby went out of his way to pay a tribute to it for the general accuracy of its intelligence. No one who is familiar with the course of that journal on the Eastern Question, and especially with its most recent utterances, can entertain the slightest doubt that it desires to drag this country into a war against Russia, ostensibly to protect our Indian Empire, but really to uphold Ottoman rule. The *Telegraph* anticipates a military catastrophe for its friends the Turks; and it is therefore naturally anxious that a British fleet should be on the spot to break the force of what might prove a crushing blow. Writing on Friday, April 27, our contemporary says:—"We must be ready to hold the peninsula of Gallipoli to secure the safety of our ironclads, and to fortify the heights between the Sea of Marmora and Lake Derkos." The *Telegraph* is not sure whether it would be wise "to watch events on the slopes of the Candian mountains," but it is quite certain that it is our duty "to prevent, at any cost, the operations of any Russian squadron either against Crete or Egypt, and should be ordered to warn or beat off any hostile warships bent on entering the Dardanelles." This was doubtless considered enough to satisfy even appetites the most hungry for war; but on the ensuing day, the Ministerial journal returned to its evil work on the plea that the best way for England to prevent a future war with Russia would be to determine at once what should be the limits of the Russian invasion of Turkey. "As regards the fleet," we are told, "it should at once be directed to take up its stations at Crete, Smyrna, Port Said, and the other points of vantage." As for military preparations, "a patriotic and zealous Minister of War like Mr. Gathorne Hardy needs only have one word to have the forces which might be wanted for some vitally-important duty ready at a day's notice." Such is the kind of writing which is now appearing day by day in a popular journal, which is supposed to represent the views of at least an influential section of Her Majesty's Government. It is, we think, high time that the English people should wake up to a sense of the danger of the situation, and that they should, by public meetings and in every other constitutional manner, repudiate sentiments which are ostentatiously put forward in their name, but which in reality only express the views of a small but high-placed and active Turcophile faction.

THE LIBERATION CONFERENCE.

(*Continued from Page* 435.)

clergy are in favour of those who defend class interests. Why, then, should the Liberals so much defer to their political foes and ignore the claims of Nonconformists, their unwavering friends? They have to wage constant war with Church exclusiveness in Parliament, and if they have not the courage to assail the State Church system, which is at the root of the evil, they ought to offer no obstacles to those who have. A question so bound up with Liberal principles, which arouses more popular enthusiasm than any other, and is increasingly agitated in the Church itself, cannot be indefinitely postponed to suit the convenience of party politicians, or because of the practical difficulties of a settlement. Whatever watchword may in the future be inscribed on the Liberal banner, religious equality ought not to be ignored, but should become a recognised article of the new Liberal creed. But it is for the advocates of that principle to depend upon their own strong arm and the growing public feeling in their favour, rather than to go cap in hand to the leaders of party, who must eventually accept the matured opinion of the community. To convert the nation and win over the constituencies, is one of the main practical objects of the Liberation Society. The best means of electoral action are then discussed in detail. Early preparation is the most effectual antidote to division, and the best reply to the charge of dividing the Liberal interest; and success can be better achieved in the committee room, where candidates are chosen, than in the polling-booth. It is contended that the friends of religious equality ought not to support any candidates who avowedly oppose their principles, and should specially be on their guard against political adventurers; that all great popular constituencies ought to be represented by members who will vote for disestablishment; and that in all two-member boroughs where Nonconformists preponderate, one of them should advocate their principles. In other constituencies old members might be braced up; and to new candidates a severer test might be applied. Those who seek parliamentary honours will not be worse but better Liberals for holding advanced views on Church questions. Those persons who have the strongest convictions of the evils of State-Churchism ought not to be surpassed in zeal and promptitude by politicians bent upon mere party objects. The next general election will show what progress the principle of religious equality has made among the constituencies, and how far disestablishment has been advanced as a practical question awaiting legislative settlement. Weeks, if not months, before Parliamentary writs are issued, the work of electoral preparation will be completed; and those who defer action till a dissolution is proclaimed may as well altogether hold their hand.

Mr. STANWAY JACKSON (of Manchester) moved—

That the Conference, in thanking Mr. Charles Miall for his paper, and requesting its publication, expresses the hope that the supporters of the society will, with increasing determination, press forward the question of disestablishment until it occupies the foremost place in the aspirations and the plans of the Liberal party. More especially, the Conference urges the necessity for such preparation for the next general election as will ensure results corresponding with the society's recent exertions, and the unquestionable advance of opinion in favour of its aims.

He said that the question of disestablishment was becoming more and more one of practical politics, and he believed the admirable "suggestions" submitted to them last night would help it on apace. This resolution had been very carefully prepared, for although it did not absolutely pledge them to make their question a test question, it went a long way towards that point. The time had arrived when Liberals might demand that a real question should be put before them, and when they should expect Liberal candidates for their suffrages to have well-defined opinions on disestablishment. They had been too much afraid of it, and not they only, but their candidates also. In Manchester they had no difficulty of that kind to contend against, for both their members were disestablishment men. (Cheers.) He believed now it would be impossible for any candidate to be accepted there by the Liberal party who was not sound on this question. In the neighbouring borough of Salford, and he spoke from personal knowledge, there was no proof that Mr. Kay lost a single vote at the recent election through his adhesion to their principles. For the causes of his defeat they had elsewhere to seek. He maintained, therefore, that, in the boroughs especially, they ought to press this question to the foremost place, and he wanted to see it occupying its true position. (Cheers.) The battle was a real one, and they must enter into the conflict believing it to be such. The foes they had to contend with were indeed formidable. Their names were Ignorance, Superstition, Selfishness, and Vested Interest. (Cheers.) He besought them not to make it a battle of chapel *versus* church, but let them take their stand as citizens of this great country, and claim the full rights of citizens. They must remember that there were more foes to contend with than those which openly arranged themselves against them; there were the foes of their own household, the indifferentism among themselves. Any careful student of the history of our times must have been struck with this—the difference between our days and the days in which this battle of religious freedom was fought 200 years ago and more. Then there was a species of persecution very real, consisting of forfeited lands and titles, of gibbet and stake. Now there was another persecution, not less real, but less cruel and more insidious. It was now the persecution of the drawing-room and of the ease born of luxury, and they must not ignore it. It took the form of the whisper that this strife for religious equality was not respectable; there was the easy lulling of the conscience to sleep with the thought that, after all, they had got a great deal of liberty, and that it would involve a lot of terrible trouble to get any more. (Cheers and laughter.) Were they content to sell their birthright for this mess of pottage? Did it satisfy them in the nineteenth century to be simply tolerated? Were they willing to wear the chains still? He was persuaded that he might emphatically answer, "No—a thousand times, No!" (Cheers.) This resolution spoke of a principle—the principle "of full religious equality," and to that principle they must each of them stick faithfully, work for it manfully, and fight for it until they won. Nor was the time far off when the aspiration of to-day should be translated into the achievement of to-morrow, and when they should have to congratulate themselves on the fact that they had won. (Cheers.)

Mr. SCHNADHORST (of Birmingham) seconded the resolution. He said that coming from a town which returned three members pledged to disestablishment he might fairly claim to speak. (Hear, hear.) The best way to accomplish their object was to organise their party on a popular basis. They would then soon have a large number of disestablishment candidates. It was too late to talk of disestablishment after the candidate was selected, but the matter should be so decided upon beforehand that no candidate would venture to come forward who was not prepared to accept their programme. (Cheers.) Then they wanted, both on the part of the candidate and their party, more courage; for there were men who attended conferences, but when they went back to their own districts they were afraid to act or speak publicly. (Hear, hear.) They also wanted more courage in their candidates, who frequently shirked their question. He would rather have a man started straight against him than a half-hearted candidate. He concluded by impressing on each delegate the necessity of doing all he could in his own locality to get the Liberal party thoroughly organised. (Cheers.)

Mr. C. H. HOPWOOD, Q.C., M.P., in supporting the resolution, discussed the question from an M.P.'s point of view. He certainly thought that the question of disestablishment ought to be started directly the candidate was chosen. Gold was tried by the fire, and so the Liberationists, having passed through the fire of abuse, came out good and true men, actuated by the highest considerations of principle. The Liberal party was also mainly composed of such men, for without such a training the Liberal party could not exist in the face of the opposition of the great representatives of vested interests which confronted them in the House. The contemptible party spirit of the Government was shown only last night when a scheme was proposed to enlarge the boundaries of the town of Derby,—an alteration of some local importance—but it was sacrificed to the sectarian jealousy which arose when the extension of boundaries was proposed to apply for school board purposes. They must devote their attention to teaching the country the true principles of Liberalism. Their own principles had grown, and were still growing, and he might congratulate the Conference that the Liberation Society had obtained its present powerful position. (Cheers.)

Mr. WHALLEY, M.P., said he would bring before them a point which seemed to have been overlooked. Now, how were the objects stated in the resolution to be accomplished, and how were they to extend the platform of that great movement which had hitherto been too much restricted to the question of religion? They were entitled to place it on the broadest basis—on the basis of free trade. He was a Churchman, but he had ever been a supporter of disestablishment. (Cheers.) Living in Wales, as he did, he saw that freedom of religion from the State was the only means of promoting the true interests of religion. (Renewed cheers.) Free trade was the

principle on which they must advocate the movement. As things were at present, his Thirty-nine Articles which he was supposed to subscribe to—(a laugh)—required twenty millions of money a year to support them. (Cheers and laughter.) And yet in Wales he found men passing the Church, and supporting their own chapels out of their scanty means. It seemed to him that he stood at a disadvantage with his neighbours if he supported the Establishment. He believed that the history and constitution of this country supported the principle of disestablishment, for the Reformation was but a partial carrying out of resolutions passed in 1405, 1410, and 1414 by the House of Commons, declaring that the revenues of the Church should be applied to secular purposes for the benefit of the State. So they were only working on the lines of the Constitution. He had given notice of a motion which he intended to bring before Parliament, on the subject of applying the revenues of the Church to the purposes of the State—such as the liquidation of the National Debt. (Loud laughter.)

Admiral MAXSE suggested that at a general election candidates should be received with a little more tolerance than he was received by the leading Nonconformists in the various boroughs he had contested. When he contested the Tower Hamlets the leading Nonconformist ministers deserted him, although he was the only disestablishment candidate because he advocated the opening of museums on Sundays. On the other hand, the Rev. Septimus Hansard refused his support because he (the Admiral) was in favour of disestablishment, and between the two stools he came to the ground. The fact was that when an honest Radical came forward on public grounds he received but little encouragement from Nonconformists, and he submitted that some concessions ought to be made because they could not get a man exactly of their own turn of mind on all points. (Hear, hear.) It was extremely narrow on the part of the Nonconformists. (Cheers.) He would suggest that Nonconformists should be a little more of politicians than they were. If there was one thing more than another which would help forward disestablishment it was electoral reform, and he believed they would have to stand still unless they took up the practical matter of redistribution, or electoral reform. (Loud cheers.)

After a few words from Mr. SAMUEL SERPELL, of Plymouth,

The HON. LYULPH STANLEY said that as to the remarks of Admiral Maxse, members of the Liberation Society had recognised with shame the conduct of certain Nonconformists, for when an honest, public-spirited Radical came forward he ought to be supported. (Cheers.) He believed that this conference heartily agreed with Admiral Maxse that the way to disestablishment was by a sweeping redistribution of seats. (Cheers.)

Mr. BALL, the Vice-President of the Agricultural Labourers' Union, appealed to the society to educate the agricultural labourers into a sense of their own importance and a knowledge of their rights.

Mr. ALFRED ILLINGWORTH, referring to the remarks of Admiral Maxse, said there was a deplorable want of breadth on the part of certain men who called themselves Nonconformists. He was sorry to say that the admiral was not the only victim to that sort of intolerance, and he thought the time was come when they must resent it. (Cheers.) It could not be said they had forgotten the agricultural labourers, but it was true that they had not been reached so well as it could be wished. That subject was, however, under consideration. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Jenkins, M.P.) said they had gone rather away from the question before the Conference, but he was glad Admiral Maxse had brought the matters he did before them. There was, no doubt, a great deal of bigotry and narrow-mindedness among some Nonconformists, and in a Scotch county (Aberdeenshire) the Liberals had voted against Mr. Hope, the Liberal candidate, on the ground that he was a Unitarian. (Shame.) He hoped that the Conference would give out no uncertain sound on that point, for the Christian religion did not depend on such narrow-minded prejudices. The admirable paper read by Mr. Miall would, he doubted not, be read at leisure by the members of the Conference, and he was sure it would exercise a very salutary influence. As to the fact that the Liberal leaders were not prepared to take that part in the political education of the people that they expected them to do he would say a few words. Party leaders waited, at the sacrifice of principle, to see what their opponents were going to do, but he thought the Liberal party should object to any leaders who would not state what their principles were. (Cheers.) No man would be called a Liberal unless he was in favour of religious equality, or at least was not hostile to their programme. There was no doubt about the line taken by this Conference; and when a man came forward to seek the votes of a Liberal constituency it must be a first principle that he was in favour of disestablishment. (Cheers.) Let them take a lesson from the Home Rulers, and make the most of their organisation. Whatever were the prospects of the Liberal party, he hoped that party would not come into power again except on those great principles that belonged to the Liberal party. (Cheers.) He would rather see their leaders remain out of office than come back to the Ministerial benches without pledging themselves to those principles which he believed to be essential to the Liberal cause. (Loud cheers.)

DISESTABLISHMENT IN SCOTLAND.

The Rev. Dr. HUTTON, of Paisley, was then called upon to move the following resolution:—

That the Conference learns without surprise that the passing of the Patronage Act, instead of strengthening the Scottish Establishment, has produced the conviction that the time has come when political action should be resorted to for the purpose of putting an end to its existence. It has satisfaction in observing that the members of the Free Church are, in increasing numbers, arriving at the conclusion that in no other way can the evils of which they complain be removed, and is no less gratified at the renewal of energetic action on the part of those who have been long attached to the principles of Voluntaryism. It highly approves of the intention of the Executive Committee to adopt new and more vigorous measures for carrying on the work of the Society in Scotland, and trusts that its efforts in that part of the Kingdom will be crowned with early success.

He hoped it would be felt by the Conference that the questions of disestablishment in Scotland and in England were one indivisible cause. (Hear, hear.) If it was not so felt he should despair; though he was not despondent, of the accomplishment of disestablishment. They needed Scotland, and Scotland needed them. He supposed they remembered that Scotland contributed to the Legislature a larger proportion of sound Liberals than any other portion of the United Kingdom, perhaps excepting Wales. (Cheers.) They could not, he thought, accomplish the disestablishment of the English Church without having the assistance of the Scottish Liberals. He hoped, therefore, that the question of Scotland would not be overlooked, or regarded as sectional or provincial in any degree. (Hear, hear.) He must be permitted to make one or two remarks bearing on some things said by the previous speakers. He thought some degree of depression began to steal over their minds as to certain utterances they had heard amongst them, but there was no cause for depression when they looked to their own numbers and their ranks. They had heard something of the views of agricultural labourers, and he hoped that they would as soon as possible enjoy the electoral franchise. (Cheers.) But he was not going to wait till they, or any other class or section of society, advocated that question, and he thougt it was their duty and privilege to bring it as rapidly and effectually to the front, for a political struggle, as was possible. (Cheers.) If they would allow him he would also make a remark, trusting that they would receive it in the spirit in which he ventured to make it—that he thought they might have had disestablishment ere now in Scotland, and in England too, if they had been true to themselves. (Hear, bear.) A distinction was sometimes drawn between Nonconformist demands and the demands of practical politics; but surely Nonconformists could base their demands upon the principle of political equity, and so bring them unavoidably within the range of practical politics. (Hear, hear.) There was one of the eminent English Church dignitaries who visited Scotland occasionally, and did them great service in the cause of disestablishment, Dean Stanley—(laughter and cheers)—who lately spoke of the "generous Puritan," and the "thoughtful Nonconformist," who was most likely half a Churchman. The Dean liked such a person, and he (the speaker) was afraid there were too many generous Puritans in England, and thoughtful Nonconformists who did half what they ought to do. They did not base their demands upon a solid enough foundation, and Lord Granville did not go to the root of the burials question—viz., that there was an inalienable right of the parishioners to admission to the churchyard. It was no use relying upon a front bench of leaders, who played at hide-and-seek with gentlemen opposite, to promote the principles of an equitable legislation, or gain the confidence of those on whom they should depend. (Cheers.) The resolution referred to the particular case of Scotland. One or two facts might be interesting. There were in Scotland some 3,400 ecclesiastical benefices. About 1,400 of those belonged nominally to the Establishment; less than 1,000 to the Free Church, which was rapidly coming forward to the point of pronouncing for disestablishment; the other 1,000 belonged to the United Presbyterians and the other smaller sections of the Dissenting communities. In the Highlands, there were large districts in which the Kirk was almost depleted. He knew of a case where the communion was dispensed last Sunday, for the first time since the Disruption in 1843, in the presence of only seven people, four of whom were imported from a neighbouring district. In another place the minister was known to have denounced the tactics of the Liberation Society to his wife and servant, who formed the whole congregation. (Laughter.) The stipends, however, remain the same, retaining the usual substantial quality it held in both England and Scotland too. The Patronage Act was passed the other year. It abolished what was called the right of lay patrons, giving them compensation, as patronage had its market value. The other day the Duke of Abercorn received from the incumbent of the second charge in Paisley the fourth part of the amount he was entitled to by that Act. A great many patrons had accepted the compensation provided by the Act, which also provided that the people should have within those limits a certain right in the election of their ministers. The committees to be appointed were very fine sieves; the other day one postponed the selection of candidates by dodging about, until the limit fixed of six months expired, and the right lapsed into the hands of the presbytery. The people must choose within six months. There is no recognition of the original and Scriptural right of the people at all. The people were called the congregation, a word which had a technical meaning, for they consisted of communicants; in addition to which there was a number of persons who were called "adherents," outside the communion roll, elected by the Session; these two rolls put together making the electoral roll, who were now patrons—in lieu of the old patrons—and yet beneficiaries of the State at the same time. The Free Church particularly felt that they were injured by the passing of that Act. So far as it had gone it had only caused a few secessions; but the design and intention of the Act were no less hostile to the other Dissenting bodies. The Secretary for War said, in substance, that, although it would not do much just now, in the course of a generation it would disintegrate and diminish the adherents of the Free Kirk, who naturally said it was an attack upon them, wrong and unfair. In Scotland, they were competing with the Government in the provision they were making for the wants of the country. They were suffering from Government competition and Government propagandism, as they were in England. Their cause had made great progress during the past year. Never was the Free Church more roused than during the last twelve months, and never were the old voluntaries more resolute and determined than at the present moment. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. STEWART, of Glasgow, seconded the motion. He also thought that the case of the Church in Scotland must come first. Their English friends had been very inactive, but if they gave their help, the Church in the North would soon fall. He advocated the formation of a Liberation centre in Scotland, as they had now no bond of union except in London, which was too far off.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

ECCLESIASTICAL GRANTS IN INDIA AND CEYLON.

Dr. UNDERHILL, who was announced to read a paper on "The Ecclesiastical Establishments in India and Ceylon," in consequence of the advanced hour, said he would not venture to inflict it upon the meeting, but would present it to the Chairman. As he understood it was to be printed as part of the proceedings of the meeting, those who wished would be able to read it hereafter. (Cheers.)

A resolution conveying the thanks of the Conference was moved by the Rev. E. WHITE (of London) seconded by Mr. TEMPLETON, and carried.

The Rev. W. GRIFFITH proposed, and Mr. ROBERT PULLAR (of Perth) seconded a vote of thanks to the gentlemen who had presided at the meetings of the Conference, which was carried with cheers.

The CHAIRMAN returned thanks on behalf of the gentlemen whose names were included, and, on his own behalf, thanked the meeting for the resolution. He simply acted as a substitute, but was very glad of the accident that caused a Scotch member to preside over their deliberations. (Cheers.)

A vote of thanks to the committees and secretaries was proposed by the Rev. JOHN BOND (of London), seconded by Mr. BURROUGHS (of Bacup), and carried; and the CHAIRMAN then announced that the Conference had terminated.

PUBLIC MEETING AT THE METROPOLITAN TABERNACLE.

A great public meeting was held yesterday evening, at the Metropolitan Tabernacle, under the presidency of Jacob Bright, Esq., M.P. The building was filled with a vast concourse of people, not a seat from the floor to the ceiling being vacant. Among those present were:—Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P., Dr. Cameron, M.P., Mr. Osborne Morgan, M.P., Dr. Smyth, M.P., Mr. Alfred Illingworth (of Bradford), Mr. E. S. Robinson (of Bristol), Mr. Henry Lee (of Manchester), the Rev. Dr. Edmond, the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, the Rev. Dr. Antliff, the Rev. A. Mursell, the Rev. J. G. Rogers, the Rev. Dr. Hutton (Paisley), Mr. Andrew Dunn, Mr. W. D. Hertz, the Rev. E. White, Mr. H. R. Ellington, Mr. Thomas Roberts (of Manchester), &c., &c.

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT, M.P., said: Only on one previous occasion have I seen so vast a meeting as this within walls, and the occasion was when there was a meeting here on the subject of the disestablishment of the Irish Church. (Applause.) Nothing but a great question could bring together such an assembly, and I think I have a right to say that the gathering together of such a crowd is to prove that convictions are gradually getting ripe with regard to another great question of disestablishment. (Applause.) It is not remarkable that you should meet together to-night to ask for religious equality. It would be remarkable in a country like this if such a demand were not made. Ideas of the equal treatment of the Queen's subjects in every part of human affairs are gradually gaining strength, and in every session of Parliament such ideas are obtaining embodiment in legislation. It would be strange if the religious institutions of the country were to be an exception with regard to these great measures of justice. We have in this country

a very great variety of religious belief. We have perhaps scores of denominations. Why then should one Church continue to receive the honours, the privileges, the endowments of the State. (Applause.) Such a condition of things, I think I may say, is contrary to every theory of political justice. There are, however, great practical evils attending upon this state of things—evils which act powerfully upon the political progress of the country—upon its social condition, and upon its religious life. A privileged clergy, from the very nature of things, must always defend privilege in every other direction. Ah! in other words, they must take the part of the few—I might almost say of the selfish few—and they must become hostile to the many. Let me appeal to those who have the longest memories amongst you—from the time when Sir Samuel Romilly endeavoured to reform the bloody penal code of this country down to the present hour—through every struggle for the enfranchisement of the people, for commercial freedom, for educational equality—in fact, through every struggle for the civil and the religious freedom of England—(applause)—the clergy of the Church—there have been noble exceptions, I know—but the clergy of the Church, in the main, from the highest to the lowest, have formed themselves into a solid barrier across the path of reform. (Applause.) And even so late as last week, when Lord Granville proposed a resolution to the House of Lords, which one would have thought every Christian man might have assented to—(applause)—when he proposed that resolution, although he obtained more than 100 votes from the laymen of that assembly, I believe that he only obtained one clerical vote. Well, when I look back to the conduct of the clergy on public matters, I sometimes ask—What have they done in the cause of peace? Many years ago this country suffered terribly from constant wars, the people were subjected to grinding taxation, their moral and intellectual improvement was forgotten, we were attending to every other part of the world except to the people of our own country, and much of the unhappiness which is still found in this country had its origin in that terrible neglect. Still, the clergy, whose special function it should have been to throw in their influence on the side of peace, have seldom been found doing so. They have appeared to me more at home in consecrating the banners of the warriors than in giving their influence on the side of peace and the people. (Applause.) I have referred to the influence of the State Church upon the social condition of the people. You would suppose that the men who profess to carry the New Testament in their hands, and to teach it, would be conspicuous for charity, and perhaps for humility; but I regret to say that my experience teaches me that the clergy too often have not that feeling towards those who hold creeds different from their own, (Applause.) What is the effect of a State Church upon religion itself? Well, I believe at this moment when there are thousands of persons in every county in England who look at religion through the conduct of its most eminent professors, but when they find those professors in all political matters associating themselves too often with tyranny and with wrong, I maintain that the effect of that is to turn a great many persons from the Christian religion itself. (Applause.) I remember a remarkable statement some time ago at a crowded meeting in the Free Trade Hall at Manchester made by Joseph Arch. Now, Joseph Arch is a man with exceptional experience; he has been an agricultural labourer himself; he knows their state of mind; he knows their sufferings, their wants, and their aspirations; and this is what he said before a crowded meeting in the City of Manchester. "The Church in the village has been the machinery for keeping honest working men in slavery." (Applause.) Now, I am not going to say how far that statement is true, but when a man like that makes it, it produces a deep impression on my mind, and it could not have been made unless there was a feeling throughout the parishes of England where the influence of of the Church has been most powerful, that that influence was hostile to the just liberties of the people. (Applause.) There are many abuses in the Established Church which are not tolerated in any other institution in this country. (Applause.) Look for example at the distribution of its endowments. You know that there are some clergymen with almost princely incomes, and with almost no duties. (Laughter.) You know, on the other hand, that there are many pious, hard-working, meritorious clergymen with large populations to which they minister, with so small a stipend that it is impossible to preserve them from the common anxieties of life. (Applause.) There is in the county of Lancashire the rectory of Winwick, a place which has some 700 inhabitants—a few more than 700 I believe—according to the Clergy List, which is generally considered a good authority, because it tends rather to minimise than to magnify the rich livings of this country. (Laughter and applause.) According to that list, the Rector of Winwick is in the enjoyment of 5,000*l.* a year. (Cries of "Shame.") That is to say he receives 7*l.* per annum for every man, woman, and child in his cure. You know that we have abolished purchase in the Army. You know that if a member of the House of Commons was known to have obtained his seat by purchase he would be speedily ejected. (Applause.) You know that it would be impossible in any of our seats of learning to purchase a professor's chair. In fact this system of purchase has happily for the most part disappeared. But in an institution which should profess to have a higher morality than in any of those I have named.—(Hear, hear)—purchase still exists, and is still defended. In New York they set up an auction in the church and sell the pews to the highest bidder. (Laughter.) We in this country do things in a bolder fashion. We set up an auction in our parishes. We not only put up the pews for sale, but the pulpits—(laughter and applause)—and the congregation itself to the highest bidder. (Renewed laughter.) But do not suppose that this is one of those venerated evils which the Church deplores and would seek to get rid of; because, only three years ago, there was a committee of distinct Churchmen—or, in other words, a committee of the House of Lords—(laughter)—which considered this question very carefully, and, with some very slight modifications, they recommended its continuance. Well, although I have the honour of presiding over this great meeting, I am not one of those men who are very sanguine of the early settlement of this great question. It is a question so great that I think it cannot be speedily settled. It may require, for aught I know, more instructed people than we have at present to deal with it. (No, no.) Well, these are my own individual opinions. (Applause.) It may possibly require, although I hope it will not, that we should pass one or two generations of men. (No, no. A voice: "Next year." Laughter.) Through our board schools, when we have undergone a process like that, you would see a different result in such a populous borough as Salford to that which you saw the other day. But one thing is consolatory, and that is that all the ideas of the modern world tend to the settlement of this question as you wish it to be settled. In the United States you have no such thing as an Established Church; in those great colonies in different parts of the world which speak the English language there is this to be observed, they have a great attachment to the mother country. Leaving the mother country they carry so far as they can with them every institution we possess; but, without exception, in Canada, in Australia, in every English colony they leave the State Church behind them. (Applause.) In Ireland this question has been settled. (Applause) Ireland is one of the three kingdoms, and everybody who ever offers an opinion now upon that subject will tell us that the Irish Church as a Christian institution is more vigorous than it has been for years. (Applause.) Scotland is getting ripe for disestablishment. (Applause.) In England you are getting now a powerful ally from the bosom of the Church itself. The most spiritual-minded, the most earnest sons of the Church, are sighing for the freedom which the State can never give; and there is everywhere, I believe, a growth of that self-respect in the Church which will refuse for any very great length of time to come, to be under the entire management of a Parliament where men of every kind of religion meet together, and there are many of them who care nothing for any church at all. Well, I do not know, but I believe, that our esteemed friend Mr. Miall—I believe he is not present to-night—but, having known him for many years, having had the honour of being one of his constituents when he sat for the borough of Rochdale, allow me to say this—that if there are half-a-dozen men in England who have any considerable portion of his moral intellectual qualities; if there are half-a-dozen men with his courage and steadfastness, his disinterested toil in favour of what used to be an unpopular truth; if there be half-a-dozen such men in your ranks, that the success of your cause is assured, no man can for a moment dispute. (Applause.) And in conclusion, let me say simply this, whenever we bring about a state of religious equality in England, we shall have a happier and a more united people. (Loud applause.)

J. CARVELL WILLIAMS, Esq., who was received with loud applause, related in a concise and sometimes humorous manner the operations of the society during the last three years. Additional agents had been appointed, innumerable meetings had been held, and publications circulated. Many of the Liberal clubs throughout the country had discussed the question of disestablishment, and growing interest in the question was everywhere manifested. The income of the society now amounted to £15,000; while of the £100,000, which three years ago they had proposed raising, £42,000 had been received and expended. Having detailed the various measures adopted by the committee in reference to Parliamentary action, where such action affected the objects of the society, Mr. Williams concluded by announcing his retirement at an early period from the secretaryship. He then resumed his seat amid vociferous cheers, which had frequently interrupted his statement.

The Rev. Dr. ANTLIFF then moved the following resolution:—

That this meeting has received with much gratification a report of the widely extended operations, and the increased influence of the society, and finds in the present state of public opinion, both in England and in Scotland, in regard to the question of disestablishment, reasons for confidently anticipating the complete accomplishment of the society's object.

He said that the disestablishment and the disendowment of the Anglican Church was a twofold problem which the people of this country had to solve. The difficulties of disestablishment appeared to be growing "small by degrees and beautifully less." Many of them were, no doubt, surprised to hear that a rival or helping society had been established by those who had heretofore been among their most determined opponents. His most earnest wish was that all the members of the Established Church, or at least a very large majority of them, might very soon be enrolled in that society; but it was well known that many of them were marvellously afraid of disestablishment. Christianity had lived in this country hundreds of years, and had spread and triumphed without State patronage. Had Christianity become effete? Had Christianity lost the power, or been separated from the power by which it was accompanied, and which enabled it to triumph not only without State patronage, but in spite of State opposition? His conviction had long been that the religion that could not live by its own force, or rather by that divine, that spiritual, force that would accompany it, was so feeble and frail a thing that it could not be of much advantage to human kind, and he, for one, would be prepared to say that if religion could not live without State patronage then let it die—(applause)—because he was quite sure that the Christianity which could not live without establishment was not the Christianity of the New Testament, was not the Christianity which had so largely and so long blessed the human race. (Applause.) He had travelled in lands where the English language was spoken, but where religion was not established by law, and any person visiting the great Republic beyond the Atlantic would, he thought, see enough to account for the virulent opposition with which the great Republic was frequently assailed in this country. No one could travel in that country without seeing the arguments which were sometimes heard in St. Stephen's irrefutably answered. Religion lived and flourished there, permeated society, shaped the human character, and determined the human destiny as forcibly and effectually as in this country where we had a State Church. (Applause.) In Canada there was no Establishment of religion, but the people were not all infidels—(applause)—in the Australian Colonies there was no Establishment of religion, but the people were not all infidels; and therefore that went to contradict what had been asserted, that when the Church was disestablished we should have a godless nation. (Applause.) Every man who was now fit to preach the Gospel, would be fit to preach it when the Church was disestablished; and the man who could not preach the Gospel then was not fit to preach it now. (Applause.) There were some disadvantages which would result from disestablishment—advowsons would no longer be advertised, and, consequently, some newspaper proprietors would suffer; no longer would they read about the age of the present incumbent, the smallness of the parish, the excellence of the fishing, capital hunting, and no Dissenters. (Laughter and applause.) Men would not then be tempted to enter into the Church, as he feared they were now tempted to do, just for the social status and the large income that would be realised thereby. There was no religious community in this country that had suffered more persecution and had encountered more opposition from the State Church than that to which he had the honour to belong. (Applause.) But they were not enemies to the Church, they sympathised with them in their troubles, especially with those good men who had banded themselves together in a rival society, and were determined to free themselves and their Church from the divisions from which they had so long suffered. They had heard and read of the overtaxed bishops and sympathised with them, and not only would they be willing to let them have half-a-dozen more created, but would be quite willing to relieve the overwrought gentlemen from the onerous duties which pressed upon them in the Upper House of Parliament. (Laughter and applause.) They maintained themselves and did not ask Parliament for a penny, and were allowed to make any laws they chose that did not contravene the laws of the realm; but so long as Government maintained a body they would rule it. There were many Anglican clergy who would rejoice to see disestablishment; but disendowment—ah! that was the pinch. They would very much like to have the advantages without the conditions, the emoluments without the terms; but England would never agree to that. (Applause.) If they wished to lose the collar-mark they must lose the pottage; there was freedom if they would have it, but they must have it upon equitable terms. The reason why they wished to secure disestablishment and disendowment was because they thought it wrong for the smaller section of the community to enjoy all the wealth and at the same time persecute those who did not share it. (Applause.) Their conviction was that not only were there very many good persons in the Church of England, and very many excellent and devout clergymen therein, but they believed that the clergy, taken as a whole, were not worse than the rest of them; but their surroundings were unfavourable, their system shaped their character and determined their conduct. (Cheers.)

Dr. CAMERON, M.P., in seconding the resolution, said, as it referred to the state of public opinion in Scotland regarding the disestablishment question, and as he had been asked to take part in to-night's proceedings as one of the representatives of one of the largest constituencies in Scotland (Glasgow), and as he believed the case of Scotland, for disestablishment was—strong as was that of this country—infinitely stronger, he should confine his remarks to that subject. As to the state of this question in the northern kingdom, he had

not the smallest hesitation in saying that, since the recent attempt of the Legislature to bolster up the State-Church, disestablishment had become the burning political question of the day. (Hear, hear.) By the passing of that Act the half-hearted dislike with which the more powerful of the voluntary churches regarded the Establishment had been transformed into a spirit of the most active hostility. By its aggressive policy the Establishment had, like another Frankenstein, conjured up a monster which it cannot allay. The question had been raised whether it should swallow up the voluntary Presbyterian churches, or whether the Establishment itself should be swallowed up, and unless he greatly misinterpreted public opinion, upon that question the next general election would hinge. (Hear, hear.) In England the supporters of the Establishment had at least this excuse, that the State Church was the church of the majority of the nation. (Cries of dissent.) Well, it certainly was not the Church of the minority as in Scotland. There, out of a population of three and a-half millions, Churchmen only claimed that the Establishment comprised one-half, while others said—and with more accuracy—one-third. There the religion of a very large portion of the nation was identical with the State religion; but in Scotland, while Presbyterianism was indeed the religion of the majority of the people, at least half were Dissenters from the Establishment. The most flourishing Presbyterian churches were those supported entirely by the contributions of their congregations. (Hear, hear.) Yet the Established Church enjoyed an income of 270,000*l.* per annum, and by means of voluntary contributions it raised about as much more, so that its total income was equal to about eight or nine shillings per head of its adherents. In the Free Church the income amounted to about 12s. 6d., while in the voluntary United Presbyterians it amounted to 14s. (Cheers.) But the real test of the need of a national church is to be found in the case of the Highlands and islands, where there is a very scattered and poor population. For many years past 5,000*l.* per annum had been paid out of the Consolidated Fund to defray the stipends of forty-two ministers scattered through those districts. At the time of the Disruption, the churches were deserted almost to a man, and the congregations had during the last thirty years managed to build churches—in face of the bitter opposition of many of the landed proprietors, and to have ministers for themselves. A report drawn up by the committee of the Free Church illustrated better than anything else the state of the Establishment in Scotland, in some of the poorer districts of the Highlands. From this and Parliamentary returns it appeared there were parishes in which the communicants only numbered six or a dozen, and one in which there was but one. And this in face of the fact that there was paid annually out of the Consolidated Fund 10,000*l.*, for the purpose of providing bread and wine to be used in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper—paid out of the unwilling pockets of Unitarians, Jews, Dissenters, and others. Of all the forms of State endowment of religion, this appeared to him the most disgusting and revolting. (Hear, hear.) The Act of '74, conferring the right of electing their own ministers upon the members of the Established Church, had been passed in the hope that this bribe would lure back those men who, thirty years before, had quitted the Church; but the hope was vain. Matters remained precisely as they were before the passing of the Patronage Act. Now what were the grievances of which they had to complain in Scotland? Nothing in the way of burials. Uncharitable and bigoted as they were, their want of charity and bigotry stopped short on the brink of the grave. But they had this to complain of, that they had not merely to support their own churches, but to contribute to the greater part of the endowment which the Establishment enjoyed. Then, not content with that, there was a tax laid upon marriage, in the shape of a payment demanded for publishing the banns, without which no marriage ceremony could be performed. This tax, which varied from 5s. to £3 (a Parliamentary return showed it to average 23s.), was, he contended, a very heavy burden on a working man, and led to a considerable amount of irregularity, and even immorality. It was true their Establishment in Scotland was free from many of the scandals which still beset the Establishment in England — they had not bloated bishops on the one hand, or starving curates on the other — no leaning towards and no coquetting with Popery, but freedom from these evils only made them see more clearly their existence here. While strongly urging earnest and united effort towards the object they had in view, Dr. Cameron expressed the confident belief that the time was not more distant than the return of Liberals to power when the Established Church of Scotland would follow and be consigned to the limbo of past abuses, and its revenues devoted to the truly national object of national education. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. CHARLES H. SPURGEON, who was greeted with loud and prolonged applause, said that he dissented somewhat from the hope entertained by some as to the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church being accomplished at a very early period. He hoped it might come; he would be glad to see it come that evening; but he feared lest the friends to the society should be over sanguine, and then be disappointed. Some time ago he had thought that some of the workers in the cause were coming, like Blucher at Waterloo, up at the last moment to find the battle won. But it was not so: for many years the battle had raged, and he was inclined to think it would last a long while yet. Had any of his hearers ever tried to whistle all the mites off a fat Stilton cheese—(laughter)—had they ever sat still and waited until such a consummation arrived? If so, they would have learned to exercise patience in the work in which they were engaged. At the same time, he thought there was great hopefulness in the Church itself; the only cause of distrust being that the friends of whom they expected great things came just up to the point, and then drew back when it came to part with the temporalities. They feared to venture farther, and sheered away. There were many pious and excellent men among the clergy of the Church of England—he knew it to his satisfaction and joy. (Hear, hear.) Speaking the other day with one, he had suggested the desirability of his considering disestablishment and disendowment, as they would inevitably come sooner or later. To this the clergyman replied that the probability had occurred to him, and he had further asked himself if he could do what those men of God in Scotland had done, and leave the Church and everything for conscience' sake, and he thought he could, by the grace of God. Thereupon he (the speaker) had said, "Why don't you then?" (Cheers.) The clergyman had added that if these errors in the Church of England—errors which might constrain a follower of Christ to leave it, he should do so. He had answered, "If there are no errors there already which should constrain you to leave it, be of good comfort, there never will be." (Hear, hear.) He was afraid neither party in the Church would come up to the mark; and although his whole heart and sympathy were with the Evangelicals, yet certainly as to courage he had more hope of the High-Church party; nevertheless he had little, if any, hope of either, for though the Ritualists might write tracts and books about the liberties of the Church, yet when it came to leaving the land of Goshen and all its good things, they too would be loth to part. He sincerely hoped the matter would come to a speedy end, because fighting out this question was no joy. He was supposed to be naturally of a bitter, acid disposition, having a narrow, bigoted mind, yet he had never struck a blow against the Church of England without always feeling his arm somewhat weaker, because of the many good and excellent men in it. And when, years ago, he had said he could almost wish, so far as this battle were concerned, there were none such good men in it, it had been bandied all round the three kingdoms that he had wished the Church might grow worse and worse. Now he had never wished for any such thing, for he never wished for impossibilities—(laughter and cheers)—he rather sorrowed over and regretted its defects. He strongly contended that they (the Dissenters) had taken this matter up as a religious question: it was one he prayed about, it was with him as much a fundamental doctrine of his faith as any other tenet—that the Church was Christ's Church, and not the State's Church, that she had rights and privileges which were not to be sold or bartered. They held that the establishment of one peculiar form of Christianity, and the leaving out of other Christians, was a cruel wrong and injustice—(Hear, hear)—and they felt that if they were in the position of the clergy of the Establishment, they would be afraid and ashamed to meet ministers of other denominations—afraid because it would be impossible to defend their position; and afraid because of its cruelty and injustice. (Cheers.) And because their denominations were inferior in number taking one by one, they contended that it was all the more unjust. In Turks Island the inhabitants were divided into three sections—white, brown, and black persons. The white went to the Established Church, th browns attended the Wesleyan chapels, and the blacks (the larger number) went to the Baptists. The same thing occurred in this country—the very respectable people went to church, the next grade to the Wesleyans, while all the blacks to the Baptists. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) Now, if any sect were endowed let the weaker brethren be it, for surely if there were no justice in it, there would be some chivalry. But where was either the justice or chivalry of this sect, which comprised all the lords of the land and the great people, coming to the State treasury and helping itself to the gold of the nation? and how much longer would the people permit the perpetration of so grievous a wrong? Hence the necessity for all true and honourable men speaking and protesting until that wrong was redressed. Then the union of the Church with the State caused before all the world a misrepresentation of what the Church really was. He dared say the Church of England was as fair a representation of the Church of Christ as could be produced under the circumstances. They were all brothers of it. He had been informed that he was a non-attending brother. (Laughter.) And in the same way all Englishmen were claimed as brothers of the national Church. But did Christ proclaim to all the world that His church was really everybody's born within a certain district? On the contrary, he had always believed there were some hedges to Christ's fields, some distinction between His followers and the outside world. (Hear, hear.) Again, one of the gravest causes for sorrow as a Christian man was that in this Church of Jesus Christ was practically dethroned. Who was by name over all—and it was no fault of hers, God bless her—(cheers)—but who was head of the English Church? Who was called so? Who was declared so? To whom did they refer if they wanted to know whether this or that practice was right or not? What was the statute-book of this Church? A book made by human uninspired hands; it was the Parliament of England and Ireland, composed of a great many descriptions, but all "honourable men." (Laughter.) But it seemed to him that for him to go to Parliament, and ask what he was to do, if he were a servant of Christ, was to be disloyal at once to his Lord, who had given him His statute-book, which, if he did not understand, he must seek His enlightening Spirit by prayer. It was treason to the Church, he contended, to submit its laws to any Parliament—in that respect he was a very High Churchman indeed. (Hear, hear.) He was sorry for any man that he should ever have to bring his conscience down, and submit it to the dictates of Parliament; but of course this must continue so long as the State money was received. The oppression was bitter, but he earnestly desired that its bitterness might become more keenly felt, for they would never come out of the land of Egypt until the tale of their bricks was doubled. Christ alone was their Master, and the Bible—the Word of God—was their great law-book; or if they did not take that as their motto, at least let them feel that Christ's Church could not be cut and carved and moulded by a Parliament that had not the understanding—and certainly not the grace—to do it. (Cheers.) Parliament could manage very well *some* things—(laughter)—especially when it had a Liberal Government at its head—(cheers)—but as to their souls they would not trust a Liberal Government with them any more than a Conservative. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) The Church must be free, and Christ must be their sole master. Further, he hoped that this question would be soon settled, because the present state of things united men that ought to be separated. It was very sad to see how some of their evangelical brethren had been bowed down, how they were bending towards a compromise. Now, after all, what communion had Christ with Belial, or an Evangelical with a Ritualist? There ought to be none, and he prayed to God they might be sundered. But he did not think, so long as there were common slices of bread-and-butter to be eaten together, they would separate. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) There was among them an immorality of language he deprecated and mourned over. Men took this book, and one read it one way and one another. It was a book which no man ever did, or could, or would believe, all through, because it was self-contradictory; it had in it noble points and grievous faults. Yet persons holding views as separate as the poles supported their arguments and maintained their opinions by the self-same book. And, further, he regretted the present state of things because the present union of the Church and State separated those who ought to be united. They who preached the Gospel, whether in this or that church, were they not all one? Yes. And notwithstanding this hard battle, which would grow warmer still, there was enough life left among their Episcopalian brethren to kindle their hearts aright, and direct them, when the fight was decided, to their true friends. Then there would be seen brethren congratulating with brethren, and those who were not of them going each his own way. Many and marked as were the interchange of courtesies among the ministers of all denominations, they were fruitless in all good practical results so long as the union between Church and State continued. Now, for many years he had been amused at the ecclesiastical law, and at the very dreadful manner in which the bishops and clergy of the Church of England had been acting. Times out of number they had made speeches, and even preached sermons, in Exeter Hall, and never guessed at the fact that he had once registered it as a Dissenting place of worship, which official character, for all he knew to the contrary, it still retained. (Cheers and laughter.) Sitting on the platform of the meeting of the Bible Society held that morning at Exeter Hall, and looking at the Archbishop of Canterbury, who occupied the chair, he had wondered what the feelings of the rev. prelate would have been if he had been aware of the circumstance. And, now that he had made it known to the world, would they be filled with consternation? Then, in regard to the Burials Bill before Parliament, they could not, he pointed out, have better allies than their enemies. The truth of which had also been well illustrated in the reverse of the Liberals and the return of the Conservatives to power. And this fact became patent to every Liberal who now contested a Parliamentary election, unless he expressed himself in favour of the Liberationists he never would be returned. Finally, he anxiously desired to see this matter carried to a successful issue, because it was making them accomplices in the present journey of the Church of England Romewards. He was sorry to see any Church going in that direction; but this Church, be it remembered, was their Church; it was the National Church; it was the Church which made them godly; it was performing the religious functions of the nation; and yet this same Church was bringing back the yoke which their fathers could not bear, and which their fathers had died to shake off. (Cheers.) The Roman Catholic Church had made few converts by its own exertions; the English Church had been its great missionary—(Hear, hear)—she had schooled the

way and paved it, and helped those along it who never else would have trodden it. Now if the Church of England chose to do this let it, but not in their name or in his. (Cheers.) To say to the people, "This is to be thy God, O Israel," and to fix upon them all this infamy, was a piece of oppression which Rome in her worst days of tyranny never put upon her conquered subjects, and it ought not to be endured. (Hear, hear.) The rev. speaker concluded with an earnest, eloquent appeal to his audience to be constant and unremitting in their labours towards the common object they had in view, and expressed his sanguine belief that before long their efforts would be crowned by success.

G. OSBORNE MORGAN, Esq., M.P., moved the following resolution:—

That, inasmuch as the Government Burials Bill has been condemned, by all those whose grievance it professes to remedy, as being bad in principle, and likely to aggravate, instead of putting an end to, existing evils, this meeting hopes that such resistance will continue to be offered to the measure as will compel its abandonment by the Government.

He said, to show the meeting that he at least had no idea of abandoning his resistance to that measure, he might state that within the last four hours he had given notice in the House of Commons of his intention, upon the second reading of the bill, to move a resolution affirming the right of Nonconformist parishioners to be buried in their own churchyards, with their own services, and by ministers of their own choice. (Loud cheers.) Now if this bill ever had any life at all, it had long since been knocked out of it by the admirable speech of Lord Granville, whose noble and manly efforts on their behalf were deserving of deep gratitude. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the bill, he could only say that if the Duke of Richmond had employed him as draughtsman, and he had endeavoured to draw a bill that would effectually strengthen their position—a bill that should combine everything that was bad in principle with everything that was impracticable and extravagant in practice—a bill that should draw down on its promoters the contumely of their opponents without earning the gratitude of their friends, he could not have succeeded more completely than the Government had done in the bill now before Parliament. (Applause.) He objected to the bill upon almost every ground—as a lawyer because he considered it unconstitutional; as a citizen and ratepayer because it proposed to inflict upon the ratepayers an expenditure of from three to six millions for the purpose of buying the Dissenters out of their own churchyards at their own expense, and because it would introduce the apple of discord into every parish throughout the kingdom at least once a year; and, lastly, he objected to it because it was from first to last a dishonest bill, which trumps up an imaginary grievance in order to escape from a real one. Passing on from this question to the general one of disestablishment, Mr. Morgan pointed out that it was very easy to be united as long as they were standing still, but these were not the days for standing still. The Church was moving forward like everything else, and then came the question, in what direction? Was it to be towards Geneva? Was it to be towards Rome? Was it to be towards Germany, or towards all three? He knew there were good easy quiet men who said that so long as they put their name to a Confession of Faith, a mass of theological jargon which not one Churchman in a thousand understood—(laughter)—so long as they educated their consciences to do that, they might preach any doctrine and practise any antics they liked. (Renewed laughter and cheers.) Was it not time for them to wake up and object to this hollow and colourless Church? The nation every now and again had a hot fit of orthodoxy, and the other day, in one of those fits, Parliament passed what was called the Public Worship Regulation Act. But what was the result? The people against whom it was directed turned round, and said, "We will not obey the Parliament in this matter, we have a law of our own—we must obey the living voice of the Church." He said that in the present state of the Establishment there was no living voice of the Church. It was at present the voice of Parliament that the Church had to obey, and the clergy were not inclined to submit. It was under the voice of Parliament that the Church was suffering, and not even the creation of four new bishops would relieve her from it. The combination between the Church and the State was perfect in its way. Some 300 years ago the State said to the Church, "We will endow you with enormous wealth and give you great privileges, and you must preach what we ordain, and practise what we command." There were some of the clergy who said they would not listen to a Parliament containing "Jews, Turks, and infidels," and those men objected to any Parliamentary control. He would say to them, the remedy was easy and plain. Bring about disestablishment, and they would then be as free as the Nonconformists. Then they were told by some of the bishops, "All will be right if you only exercise a little Christian charity." But he would ask, What sort of charity? They all knew that there was a sort of charity which began at home, and ended there. (A laugh.) It was a very convenient kind of charity, for it took everything and gave nothing. He had been astonished to hear the learned and venerable Bishop of Lincoln speak of his Burials Bill "as the robbing of God" and "an act of theological treachery and cowardice"; and he did not think much of that sort of Christianity or logic. That was melancholy spectacle, but it had in it a useful and instructive lesson, because it showed how a good and Christian man could be led to prefer the Church to Christianity, and in the desire to grasp the things of Cæsar's, forget the things that were God's. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. J. G. ROGERS, B.A., in seconding the resolution, said that when he knew this meeting was to be held in the Metropolitan Tabernacle, and that his honoured friend, Mr. Spurgeon, was to be one of the speakers, it was not unnatural that his thoughts should be turned to Mr. Spurgeon, who in himself formed a most remarkable text on disestablishment. Whatever they might think of Mr. Spurgeon, and however highly they might value his ministrations, there had been very few parallels to him since the days of Luther, or, coming nearer their own times, Whitefield and Wesley. (Cheers) Whatever they might think of a man whose fame was not confined to Newington, to London, or even to England, but had extended to wherever English was spoken and the name of Christ known, according to the law of the land he had no right to be there as a preacher. (Cheers and laughter.) The rector of that parish was entitled to regard Mr. Spurgeon as a nuisance, and he had no doubt he was a great nuisance too. (Renewed cheers and laughter.) But look at the facts. There was a man who was doing the greatest religious work in England, and yet this brand of inferiority was put upon him by the law of England. Was that because of their inferiority? If so, it was their misfortune rather than their fault. Was it because they were not so learned? Then the Church was to blame, because she prevented Nonconformists for many years from enjoying the educational establishments of the country. Was it because of their doctrinal opinions? Well, they must be sound or unsound, they must be orthodox or heterodox, but there was no orthodoxy so high or heterodoxy so low, that they might not find the type corresponding to it in the Church itself. He was inclined to believe that there was quite as much Nonconformity established as disestablished. (Cheers.) It was simply because they would not conform, and would not wear the bonds that the State wished to impose upon them. They would take poverty and inferiority, they would accept any odium that was placed upon them, but they would not wear the livery of the State, and they would not submit to her authority. (Cheers.) But they were only saying the same thing as many clergymen, only they followed out their principles to the conclusion. He had received a letter saying that the clergy were not State paid. He did not say they were, but the clergy were the national clergy of this country, and if the nation did not provide for them, the greater shame to the country, and the clergy had a fair reason to complain. But they were not the men to stand that. (Laughter.) He did say, however, that the clergy had got into their hands a large amount of property which belonged to the nation and only to the nation. It was a strange thing that the clergy submitted to the control of the State if they received no privileges or advantages from the State. They were told it was only the political Dissenters who were agitating; then he asked what kind of Dissenter was Mr. Spurgeon? If he was not religious, and doing a great and good Christian work in the country, he should like to know who was religious? Mr. Spurgeon was one of the mightiest personal forces in the country. But if he was religious, he was also a Dissenter, and consequently a religious Dissenter, and yet he had come there this evening. Nevertheless, they were told that none but political Dissenters made the demands they did. When he asked would their enemies understand that those charges came with great inconsistency from men who said they were trying to separate the secular from the spiritual. The Dissenters were not doing that, but were trying to carry their religious principles into their politics. They were politicians because they were religious. They should not be anxious about these things except that they violated the first principles of their Master's laws. They did not like to see religion turned into statecraft, and its prizes the rewards of political intrigue and services. Only last night in the Houses of Parliament two things were done which ought to make every Christian man's ears tingle when he heard of them. The member for this borough, Mr. McArthur—(cheers)—introduced a proposition for the abolition of a religious Establishment in Ceylon. The island had 2,500,000 inhabitants, and of these 2,490,000 did not belong to the Established Church of this country, but the remaining 10,000 did, and an ecclesiastical establishment was maintained from the taxes for the sake of the 10,000. They had recently sent a bishop out there. He was called the boy bishop, and he was evidently very green. His first work was to create a confusion amongst his own people, and he tried to bring the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society into order. But look at the facts. There were people who were Buddhists, Hindoos, Mussulmen, and Roman Catholics, and they go and ask them all, in the name of the Christian religion, and for the sake of the truth, to contribute out of the taxes in order that the bishop and his clergy might be maintained. In reply to Mr. McArthur, the hon. member for York, on behalf of the Government, said it was not much, being only 1d. per head. The amount was of no consequence. Could not their opponents understand that the very smallness of the amount increased the degradation cast on the name of Christianity? The whole thing was a discredit—first, that the time of the House should be consumed by having to discuss such a matter; and secondly, that the injustice should be continued. (Cheers.) They resented it, not only as an injustice, but as an indignity put upon Christ. (Cheers.) But that was not all that was done last night in the House. There was a bill introduced by Mr. Cross to create more bishops. (Laughter.) Churchmen were never weary of crying out for more bishops, which they seemed to think were a panacea for all their troubles, and they never tired, when they got them, of abusing them. (Cheers and laughter.) If they want more bishops, how were they to get them? There was a remarkable article the other day in the *Saturday Review*. There was an ecclesiastical endowment in the City with property worth £12,000 a-year. It was St. Katherine's Hospital, and there were three Brothers and three Sisters, but without a church to perform any service in, the emoluments remaining but the work had passed away. The head of this establishment had been a distinguished layman. There was an anomaly—an ecclesiastical establishment with a lay head! The *Saturday Review* suggested that this 12,000*l.* a year might be used to make a new bishop! One would have thought there was much to be done in the City with the money before making a new bishop. (Cheers.) But where were these new bishops to be got? Parliament would give no more money for bishops, and, although the Church was national, the nation won't provide more bishops. The people might find the money, but who was to appoint the bishops? If a congregation wanted an assistant minister, they would choose him themselves, but these bishops were to be appointed by the Crown. As it was, the Church of England was subject to the intolerable degradation of having to come to Mr. Cross and say, "We will find the money, will you allow us to have another bishop?" The House of Commons last night was occupied with the first reading of a bill to create bishops. They were to be created by patent—so, as they had patent leather and patent medicines, they would have some patent bishops. (Laughter.) It was because of these matters that they objected to this state of things, for the degradation of the Church of Christ was a great thing, and it was against that they were contending. They were fighting simply for the rights of conscience and the supremacy of truth. The battle of conscience had been a protracted one, and they were now engaged in one of its last conflicts. When religious equality was established in this nation, and not till then, would the triumph of conscience be complete. When all human supports were removed, and the truth goes forth in its mighty power free and unfettered, then would the day of the world's regeneration come. (Loud cheers.)

The resolution was carried *nem. con.*

A vote of thanks to the Chairman terminated the proceedings.

Sir Henry Thompson has kindly consented to preside at the annual festival, to be held at Willis's Rooms, in aid of the funds of University College Hospital, on Wednesday, the 16th inst.

THOUSANDS are unable to take Cocoa because the varieties commonly sold are mixed with starch, under the plea of rendering them soluble; while really making them thick, heavy, and indigestible. This may be easily detected, for if cocoa thickens in the cup it proves the addition of starch. Cadbury's Cocoa Essence is genuine; it is therefore three times the strength of these cocoas, and a refreshing beverage like tea or coffee.

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

MARRIAGE.

PICK—WHITE.—April 25, at the Independent Chapel, Kibworth Harcourt, by the Rev. E. Hipwood, stepfather of the bride, Frederick Pick, of Lansdown-villa, Albert-road, Birmingham, youngest son of W. Pick, Esq., late of Tur Langton, to Sarah Eliza, youngest daughter of the late Rev. F. G. White, of Gloucester.

DEATHS.

FURZECOTT.—April 25, Sarah Furzecott, the beloved wif of Samuel Furzecott, 26, High-street, Notting-hill.

AYRE.—April 30, at Morpeth, the Rev. Wm. Ayre, formerly (for twenty-four years) pastor of the Congregational Church in that place.

CARLISLE.—May 1, at No. 6, Cranbury-terrace, Southampton, Annie, wife of the Rev. Henry Hermann Carlisle, LL.B., aged 40 years.

HORNIMAN'S TEA.—Choice teas at very reasonable prices are always to be had of Horniman's Agents; Chemists in every town. Being direct Importers, Messrs. Horniman guarantee the purity, strength, and flavour of all their teas. Their agents are constantly receiving fresh supplies from the Wholesale London House, secured in tinfoil packets, whereby the delicate flavour and aroma is preserved.

CARDINAL ECRU, OR CREAM.—JUDSON'S DYES.—White goods may be dyed in five minutes. Ribbons, silks, feathers, scarfs, lace, braid, veils, handkerchiefs, clouds, bernouses, Shetland shawls, or any small article of dress, can easily be dyed without soiling the hands. Violet, magenta, crimson, mauve, purple, pink, ponceau, claret, &c., Sixpence per bottle. Sold by Chemists and Stationers.

OLDRIDGE'S BALM OF COLUMBIA.—By the increasing demand for this famed Balm may be estimated its value and efficacy for replenishing, invigorating, and preserving the Hair either from falling off or turning grey. Without it no toilet is complete. It imparts to the hair a bright and glossy appearance, frees it entirely from scurf, and will not soil the most delicate fabric worn as headdress "at home" or in promenade. In the "nursery" its use is invaluable, as it forms in infancy the basis of a healthy and luxuriant head of hair. Sold by all perfumers and chemists, at 3s. 6d., 6s., and 11s. only. Wholesale and retail by the proprietors, C. and A. Oldridge, 22, Wellington-street, seven doors from the Strand, London, W.C.

THROAT IRRITATION.—The throat and windpipe are especially liable to inflammation, causing soreness and dryness, tickling and irritation, inducing cough and affecting the voice. For these symptoms use glycerine in the form of jujubes. Glycerine, in these agreeable confections, being in proximity to the glands at the moment they are excited by the act of sucking, becomes actively healing. Sold only in 6d. and 1s. boxes (by post for 14 stamps), labelled, "JAMES EPPS and Co., Homœopathic Chemists, 48, Threadneedle-street, and 170, Piccadilly, London."

HOLLOWAY'S PILLS.—Good Digestion.—Holloway's Pills are universally acknowledged to be the safest, speediest, and best corrective for indigestion. Loss of appetite, acidity, flatulency, and nausea are a few of the inconveniences which are remedied with ease by these purifying Pills. They strike at the root of all abdominal ailments, they excite in the stomach a proper secretion of gastric juice, and regulate the action of the liver, promoting in that organ a copious supply of pure, wholesome bile, so necessary for digestion. These Pills remove all distension and obstruction, and from their harmless composition are peculiarly well adapted for delicate persons and young children. Whilst casting out impurities, these excellent Pills strengthen the system and give muscular tone.

PERFECTION.—Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S World's Hair Restorer never fails to restore grey hair to its youthful colour, imparting to it new life, growth, and lustrous beauty. Its action is speedy and thorough, quickly banishing greyness. Its value is above all others. A single trial proves it. It is not a dye. It ever proves itself the natural strengthener of the hair. Sold by all Chemists and Perfumers.

Mrs. S. A. ALLEN *has for over* 40 *years manufactured these two preparations. They are the standard articles for the hair. They should never be used together, nor Oil nor Pomade with either.*

Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S Zylo-Balsamum, a simple tonic and hair-dressing of extraordinary merit for the young. Premature loss of the hair, so common, is prevented. Prompt relief in thousands of cases has been afforded where hair has been coming out in handfuls. It cleanses the hair and scalp, and removes dandruff. Sold by all Chemists and Perfumers.

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Advertisements.

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UNION MEETINGS for the DEEPENING of SPIRITUAL LIFE in Christians of all Denominations, THURSDAY and FRIDAY, May 10th and 11th, Afternoons in LOWER HALL, EXETER HALL, at 2.30 p.m., when addresses will be given by Revs. W. E. Boardman, C. A. Fox, W. Haslam, Dr. Lowrey, Dr. Mahan, J. Manners, Dr. Robertson, G. Savage, C. W. Servanté, Right Hon. W. Cowper-Temple, M.P., Admiral Fishbourne, and others. Tickets at Messrs. Haughton and Co., 10, Paternoster-row, or Offices of Committee, 9, Exeter Hall, W.C.

WAR! WAR! WAR!

A PUBLIC MEETING will be held in ST. JAMES'S HALL on MONDAY EVENING NEXT, May 7, 1877, in SUPPORT of Mr. GLADSTONE'S RESOLUTIONS, and to protest against any action being taken by the Government which may involve England in war the effect of which would be the maintenance of Turkish tyranny and misrule in Eastern Europe.

Admission free, without ticket.

Chair will be taken at Eight o'clock precisely.

For Chairman and Speakers see future announcements.

By Order of the Eastern Question Association, Canada-buildings, King-street, Westminster.

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Are unapproachable for comfort of wear, safety of use, and durability of magnetic power. They are used and recommended by gentlemen eminent in the medical profession, and persons of all classes of society have testified to their beneficial effects in cases of Gout and Rheumatism, Spinal, Liver, Kidney, Lung, Throat, and Chest Complaints, Epilepsy, Hysteria, General Debility, Indigestion, Hernia, Sciatica, Asthma, Neuralgia, Bronchitis, and other forms of Nervous and Rheumatic Affections.

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Is unique as a perfectly flexible Magnet. It is an entirely original invention of Messrs. DARLOW & Co., improved by them on their previous invention patented in 1866, and possessing qualities which cannot be found in any other magnet. It is soft, light, and durable, elastic, flexible, and permanently magnetic.

TESTIMONIALS.

From GARTH WILKINSON, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.S.E.

DARLOW'S PATENT FLEXIBLE MAGNETIC APPLIANCES.

76, Wimpole-street, London, W., March, 1874.

F. W. Darlow, Esq.

SIR,—I am able to certify that I have used your Magnetine Appliances pretty largely in my practice, and that in personal convenience to my patients they are unexceptionable, and far superior to any other inventions of the kind which I have employed; and that of their efficacy, their positive powers, I have no doubt. I have found them useful in constipation, in abdominal congestion, in neuralgia, and in many cases involving weakness of the spine, and of the great organs of the abdomen. In the public interest I wish you to use my unqualified testimony in favour of your Magnetic Appliances.

I remain, yours faithfully,
GARTH WILKINSON, M.D., M.R.C.S.E.

From the Rev. Dr. KERNAHAN, M.A., Ph.D., F.G.S &c.

St. Albans, March 26, 1876.

To Messrs. Darlow and Co.

GENTLEMEN,—I have pleasure in stating that I have deprived much benefit from the use of your Magnetic Chest and Throat Protector, which I have been wearing since the close of the year 1874, having adopted it after a severe attack of quinsey, from which I have been ever since happily free. I am also glad to inform you that two ladies of my acquaintance, who had suffered much from bronchial irritation, have experienced much benefit from having a "Protector." I think it right to make you acquainted with these facts, and I give you liberty to use this note as you think proper.—Yours truly, JAMES KERNAHAN.

ADDITIONAL TESTIMONIAL FROM GARTH WILKINSON, ESQ., M.D., M.R.C.S.

76, Wimpole-street, Cavendish-square, W., June 15, 1876.

F. W. Darlow, Esq.

SIR,—Since March, 1874, when I wrote to you to express my opinion, from experience, of the value of your Magnetic Appliances, I have been frequently asked by letter if my certificate was genuine, and if in the time since elapsed your inventions still approved themselves as beneficial in my practice. To both those questions I can answer by endorsing Magnetine as an arm which I am obliged to resort to in a good many cases.

In addition to the cases I before specified I can now add some experience of the utility of Magnetine in cases of debility, and as a local remedy in painful affections arising in the course of gout. Indeed, I am accustomed to prescribe it wherever topical weakness proceeds from a low vitality in the great nervous centres, or in the principal organs of assimilation, nutrition, and blood purification; also in weak throats from nervous exhaustion affecting the larynx.—I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

GARTH WILKINSON, M.D., M.R.C.S.E.

From the Rev. HENRY BUDD.

DARLOW'S PATENT MAGNETINE CURATIVE APPLIANCES.

Wesleyan Parsonage, Greymouth, New Zealand, July 22, 1876.

To Messrs. Darlow & Co.

GENTLEMEN,—It is now about four months since I began to use your Magnetine Throat Band, and I have found great benefit from the use of it. The benefit was immediate, and has continued. The night huskiness, the result of a bronchial attack, has now altogether disappeared.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your obedient servant,
HENRY BUDD.

MAGNETINE.

Many sufferers have failed to obtain relief from Magnetism from no other cause than that the magnetic power of the articles worn by them has been too feeble to reach the morbid parts. Messrs. Darlow and Co., therefore, in consequence of complaints they are continually receiving, feel it incumbent upon them to warn the public against many appliances made in imitation of the genuine MAGNETINE Appliances, but which, on examination, are found to be articles of very inferior manufacture.

The ever-increasing success of Messrs. DARLOW and Co.'s Flexible MAGNETIC Appliances during the past Ten Years is evidence of their appreciation by the public; and the testimony of gentlemen of the highest standing in the medical profession is that MAGNETINE far surpasses all other inventions of a similar character for curative purposes; and experience has proved that in many intricate cases, where ordinary treatment has failed, the disorders have readily yielded to the gentle, soothing, yet vitalising influence of the Magnetine Appliances.

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Rev. N. LINDON PARKYN, Minister.

The MEMORIAL STONE of the above building will be LAID by JAMES SPICER, Esq., of Woodford, on TUESDAY, 15th May, at One o'clock p.m., after which a Déjeuner will be provided in the Large Public Hall, at which James Spicer, Esq., will preside.

Revs. Thos. Aveling, D.D., W. M. Statham, G. S. Barrett, B.A. (of Norwich), and others will take part in the proceedings of the day.

Tickets for the Déjeuner, 4s. 6d. each (wines will be provided free of charge), may be obtained from Thos. A. Johns, Esq., 81, Gracechurch-street; E. Stewart, Esq., Mansion House-buildings, E.C.; M. C. Dukes, Esq., M.D., Wellesley-villas, Croydon; or of Arnold Pye-Smith, Elgin-road, Addiscombe.

At Seven o'clock in the Evening a Public Meeting will be held in the same place, at which the above Ministers and other Friends are expected to be present.

Tea will be provided at 5.30 p.m. Tickets, 1s. each, may be obtained at the doors.

Trains at frequent intervals from Cannon-street or London Bridge to East Croydon Station.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL, MANSFIELD, NOTTS.—A HEAD MASTER is WANTED for the above School, who must be a graduate of some University within the British Empire, and need not be nor intend to be in Holy Orders. The School has recently been re-constituted by the Endowed School Commissioners as a Second Grade School. New and convenient Buildings are being erected on a lofty salubrious site near the Town, consisting of School Room and Class Rooms for about 150 Boys, with a Head Master's residence and a Hostel for Thirty Boarders. The School is expected to be opened early next year. Salary guaranteed for the first two years £500 per annum. Testimonials stating Age, School, University, Degree, Scholastic Experiences, and other particulars, to be forwarded not later than the 31st May next, to Mr. William Bryan, Solicitor, Mansfield, Clerk to the Governors, who will furnish Copies of the Scheme and any further particulars required.

A TEACHER REQUIRED to assist in the Junior Department. Elementary English, French, and Latin. Character essential. Nonconformist preferred. —Apply to the Rev. H. J. Chancellor, Westwood Park House, Forest Hill, S.E.

TO PRINCIPALS of LADIES' SCHOOLS.—A YOUNG PERSON, with aptitude for teaching, and competent to impart ordinary English instruction and music, DESIRES a SITUATION in a good School where, in exchange for her services, she would receive advanced instructions in French and Drawing, also board and lodging.—X. Y. Z., 17, Westgate, Grantham, Lincolnshire.

TO CHEMISTS.—An intelligent YOUTH, holding Senior Certificate Cambridge Local Examination, WANTS to be APPRENTICED (indoors). Cannot pay a premium, but would soon be valuable.—Address, W. B. A., Box No. 5, Post-office, Belper.

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BRIGHTON.—2, Sussex-square.—Miss GOULTY expects her PUPILS to RE-ASSEMBLE on TUESDAY, May 8th, 1877.

THE EVANGELIZATION SOCIETY is prepared to SEND qualified EVANGELISTS to any part of England and Wales upon due notice.—Apply to Hon. Secretary, 21, Surrey-street, Strand, W.C.

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The above PREMISES, situate near the Bank of England, are NOW OPEN, having the following advantages besides those of an Exchange, viz.:—Enclosed private desks, writing and news tables, separate lock-up drawers, and a large strong room; also consultation and smoking-rooms, and lavatory.

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THE Reverend JOHN SPENCER PEARSALL deceased.—Pursuant to the Statute 22 and 23 Victoria cap. 35 intituled "An Act to Further Amend the Law of Property and to Relieve Trustees" NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that all PERSONS having any CLAIMS or DEMANDS against or affecting the Estate of the Reverend John Spencer Pearsall late of Farncombe Villa Godalming in the County of Surrey Congregational Minister deceased (who died on the 22nd day of December 1876 and whose Will with one Codicil was proved on the 10th day of February 1877 in the Principal Registry of the Probate Division of Her Majesty's High Court of Justice by Samuel Small Mander of Glen Bank Tettenhall near Wolverhampton Esquire one of the Executors named in the said Will and Codicil) are REQUESTED to SEND in writing the PARTICULARS of their Debts Claims or Demands to the said Executor at the Office of his Solicitors Messrs West King Adams and Co of No 66 Cannon Street London on or before the 25th day of June next at the expiration of which time the said Executor will proceed to administer the Estate and distribute the assets of the said Testator among the parties entitled thereto having regard to the claims only of which the said Executor shall then have had notice and for the assets or any part thereof so administered or distributed the said Executor will not be liable to any person of whose debt claim or demand he shall not then have had notice And all persons indebted to the Estate of the said deceased are requested forthwith to pay the amount of their debts respectively to the said Executor

Dated this 30th day of April 1877

WEST KING ADAMS and CO.
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I have again examined and Tested the Patent Pneumatic Articulating Palate, combined with the Enamel Teeth, invented, patented, and manufactured by Messrs. Moggridge and Davis, and the highest praise I can bestow is that they are true to nature, and they combine the great essentials of comfort, economy, elegance, and durability.

I would recommend all persons in quest of artificial teeth to visit Messrs. Moggridge and Davis's elegant establishment and manufactory, 143, Strand, and judge for themselves of the quality of their workmanship.

(Signed) JOHN HENRY PEPPER,
Late Honorary Director and Professor of Chemistry, Royal Polytechnic, and Fellow of various learned Societies.

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IMPROVED SATIN-GLAZE STARCH,

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For Children Cutting their Teeth, nothing excels Mrs. JOHNSON'S SOOTHING SYRUP, which is not a medicine but used only on the Gums; CONTAINS NO NARCOTIC. It Cools the Gums and gives immediate relief. Prepared only by Barclay & Sons, Farringdon-street, London. Price 2s. 9d. per bottle. Sold by all Chemists.

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(By a "Stranger" in the Gallery.)

One of the things that will most strike anyone who is not a frequent visitor to the Palace of Westminster is that it is not a "People's House." When the two Houses are sitting, the approaches are vigilantly guarded. The public are free of Westminster Hall, but "strangers" are stopped at the glass door of the first corridor, and asked their business by the policeman in attendance. At the second door into the fine vestibule, the process is repeated. Here on the left hand may be seen all the evening a knot of persons who want, or profess o want, to communicate with members of the House of Commons, and who must send in their cards, and receive permission, ere they can now approach the once accessible lobby. As early as half-past four on Thursday—some were there at four o'clock—a goodly number of strangers were at the right hand corridor, into which they were duly admitted on production of their gallery orders, and graciously allowed to sit on the cold stone seats on either side n the order of their arrival, till the doors of the House of Lords were opened at five o'clock. They were then admitted in batches of ten at a time into the gallery, and allowed to occupy some particularly hard benches. The interval of waiting in the corridor was not however dull. Many of the peers passed through on their way to the door of the House. Among them we noticed the erect form of Earl Spencer, late Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; Lord Lawrence, looking pale and infirm; Lord Cardwell, a first-rate administrator, whose reputation rests mainly on his army reorganisation scheme; the Duke of Somerset, who rejoices in the *rôle* of a Liberal "free lance," and in occasional hits at Mr. Gladstone; Lord Hampton, who, as Sir John Pakington, was ready at very short notice to undertake, if not to accomplish, everything, including a "ten minutes' Reform Bill"; Lord Kimberley, once a capable Colonial Secretary; Lord Moncrieff, an ex-Lord Advocate, whose name is not likely to go down to posterity; and Lord Wolverton, which title covers that of Mr. Glyn, the popular Liberal "whip," who has earned the right to repose on his laurels. The members of the Episcopal Bench streamed in almost in procession. They had all just come from the Jerusalem Chamber hard by, where Convocation was in session, and thus the Primate, looking hale and portly; the Bishops of London, pious but perplexed, Gloucester, with his meek expression, Lincoln, every inch a priest, and other prelates—all in shovel hats and knee-breeches—passed on, followed by many dignitaries of the Church, whom curiosity drew to the gilded chamber (now somewhat faded by the way) to learn the fate of the Burials Bill.

The gallery was crowded with "strangers"—a very rare thing this session—and they were packed so close that it was not easy to dispose of arms and legs, or to sit comfortably, boxed up in that heated atmosphere. The first object to attract attention was the Episcopal Bench, overflowing with lawn, which any short-sighted individual, seeing so much millinery, might have mistaken for a preserve for members of the fair sex. The bishops were there in unprecedented strength—as many as a score filling the benches, and one or two had to find refuge in "lay" seats. In the gallery on one side might have been seen a sprinkling of ladies—peeresses perhaps—and the Chinese Ambassadors, who must have been in a state of profound perplexity as to the merits of the debate. Nearer the strangers' gallery we espied during the evening Mr. Osborne Morgan, intent on listening to the Liberal leader of that House on his own especial topic; and Mr. Henry Richard, attentively following the discussion till called away by the muffled alarum of the division-bell "in another place." Before us was the Throne, and behind the Bar in advance of the Throne, Mr. Gladstone, the Dean of Westminster, and other notable visitors, were visible awhile.

The benches on both sides were fairly filled, especially on the Opposition side—for it was a field night, and Lord Granville, the Liberal leader in that assembly, was to open the campaign with an unusual amendment, the notice of which had greatly disturbed the Lord President. Conspicuous on the Ministerial Bench were the Duke of Richmond, Lord Beaconsfield (looking Sphinx-like as usual), and the Marquis of Salisbury. About half-past five the duke, having moved the second reading of the Burials Acts Consolidation Bill, Lord Granville rose and stood at the table, amid the silence of expectation, to move his amendment, to leave out all the words after the word "that" in order to insert the following words:—

No amendment of the law relating to the burial of the dead in England will be satisfactory which does not enable the relatives or friends having charge of the funeral of any deceased person to conduct such funeral in any churchyard in which the deceased had a right of interment with such Christian and orderly religious observances as to them may seem fit.

His lordship speaks with calmness, deliberation, and self-possession, but is not easy to follow in a chamber where acoustic considerations seem to have been recklessly ignored. Though he did not shrink from putting his argument strongly—and it was an array of many weighty arguments—he never deviated from that mild, conciliatory manner, which is his characteristic, though some of his sentences contained a covert sting. Lord Granville remarked that though he should not greatly grieve if the carrying of his amendment should be fatal to the bill, he did not expect to carry it; and if he did, the second reading of the measure could be moved to-morrow. With a delicate sarcasm he commented on the provisions of the bill, and its ostensible objects and inconsistencies, and showed that it proposed remedies for things not complained of, but provided no effectual remedy for that real grievance which made legislation necessary. But it was said that the grievance was rapidly diminishing. They had returns from 7,369 parishes, and information of nearly 10,000 churchyards still in use. At the present rate of closing these burial-grounds, it would take some 230 years before all were shut up! Then his lordship made a gentle but effective thrust at the most reverend prelate who relied so much on "sensible" Dissenters. The bill was, he said, in point of fact, condemned by all the Nonconformist denominations—by the Wesleyans, the most friendly to the Church, and by the Presbyterians, who held aloof from the Liberation Society; and Lord Granville maliciously asked for the production of one Dissenter "sensible" enough to approve of the Government Bill. The administrative portion of the measure was bad, and its machinery unworkable, nor would it satisfy that section of the Church which was ready to make some sacrifices for the sake of peace. So far from it being a new grievance, he had been reading a pamphlet which had been issued ten years before the Liberation Society was established, pointing out the injustice of the burial law. His lordship's reproduction of the well-known case of Sir Morton Peto excited some stir, even in that undemonstrative assembly:—

Some years ago Sir Morton Peto, a Baptist, purchased a large estate in Norfolk. In the interests of his Church of England tenants he created and endowed, at the expense of many thousand pounds, a national church and churchyard. Soon after the consecration of the churchyard he lost a beloved daughter. Your lordships may imagine his feelings when he was obliged to carry the corpse of his child many miles to a strange cemetery because only a silent burial would have been permitted to her in the churchyard which he had created and presented to the Establishment, and which was associated in his mind with the memory of her early life. (Hear, hear.)

In reply to the reckless insinuation as to disorderly conduct, Lord Granville referred to the Liverpool cemetery, where 70,000 persons have been buried without breach of decorum or the lightest scandal. His lordship also made a good point of the doubtful effect of the 74th clause (upon which Lord Selborne enlarged more at length) and, asked some questions which it was not convenient for the Lord President subsequently to answer. Another strong point was put as follows:—

The most reverend prelate who presides over the Province of Canterbury last year gave a most touching description of the funeral processions he had seen winding over the mountains of Wales and of Cumberland, the sound of the hymns the mourners were offering up echoing among the hills and the valleys—then the whole stopping because the mourners had come to the sacred ground, and they could only enter it in silence. It is true that his grace thought the difficulty might be got over by permitting verse instead of prose, but the noble marquis opposite reminded him that prose might be turned into rhymes, and that hymns might be profane. This year he has thrown out another suggestion, that Convocation should settle a Church service to be read by the clergyman which should be unobjectionable to all Nonconformists. But what has Convocation been about for the last twenty years? At the request of 4,000 clergymen they have been trying to settle what burial services will be acceptable to the clergy and laity of the Church of England, and they have not yet succeeded. Is this encouraging to the odious and hopeless attempt of composing services for all sorts of Nonconformists, particularly when the objection generally felt by them is not so much to the service as to its exclusive use, and to the ministrations of a minister who is not their own?

His lordship, repeating what he had said last year, remarked that the present grievance did not exist in the United States, in France, in Germany, in Austria, in Hungary, in Italy, in Russia, and in Turkey; nor in any of our colonies and dependencies, nor in Scotland; that it had existed, but had been abolished by a Conservative Government in Ireland; that, in fact, in the whole civilised world, with the exception of Spain and Belgium, England and Wales were the only countries guilty of this small piece of intolerance, at a moment when all petty differences of life were over, and all sorts and conditions of men were gathered into one place.

A decorous but general cheer greeted the noble earl as he resumed his seat after his telling and exhaustive speech, which occupied just one hour, and there was something like what the French call "movement" when the Marquis of Salisbury promptly rose. His lordship in other political spheres has increased his reputation as an enlightened statesman since he has held high office. He is a firm and excellent administrator as Secretary of State for India, and did signal service to his country at the memorable Conference at Constantinople. But he is the same narrow High Churchman and zealous defender of ecclesiastical privileges and prerogative as when, fifteen years ago, we heard Lord Robert Cecil once and again defend Church rates, and, later on, the clerical monopoly of the churchyard, and the limitation of the benefits of endowed schools and University advantages. When, therefore, Lord Salisbury rose on Thursday night, spectators drew the obvious conclusion that the Government were not disposed to disarm opposition by concession. His speech was, *mutatis mutandis*, such as he was in the habit of delivering ten years ago in the Commons—there was the same ingenious, not to say daring, sophistry, and the same uncompromising spirit. He challenged any one to give him a legal definition of "Christian" burial, and claimed credit for the Government in having conceded one of Lord Granville's and Mr. Morgan's demands of last year—interment without a service. Yet, he complained, there was no disposition to regard it as a concession. In that morning's *Times*, "An English Churchman" (Dean Stanley?) had used the old illustration of the Sibyl, and now Lord Salisbury gave it a new meaning:—

But the Sibyl of these days was a very altered and degenerate Sibyl. The Sibyl of old, if somewhat hard-fisted, was honest and stuck to her bargain; but the Sibyl of our time, though she demanded more if you refused her offer, demanded a great deal more if you conceded it.

They were told that the provision of new churchyards would cost the country some four millions. He appealed to their lordships, as landowners, whether, in these remote rural districts, 50*l.* would not in each case provide all the ground required, and whether they would not willingly give land for the purpose. But his lordship's main point was that there were two sides to this question, and that there was conscientious feeling on the one side as well as the other—though, after all, those who felt the grievance were very few, for it was nursed by political agitators who aimed at disestablishment. What was concession to them? Would a pursuing lion be appeased if he were to offer one of his legs? The grievance could be removed by reserving a portion of ground unconsecrated, and in parishes where that course was followed, the controversy had disappeared. The truth was that the sentimental argument was as applicable to entering the church as the churchyard. His lordship then stated, in remarkable terms, the other side of the controversy, and he assured the House that these views were held not only by the clergy, but by many political Churchmen. Lord Salisbury went on to say:—

If the more extreme forms of religious Dissent, whether they come within the noble earl's definition of Christian or not—such as the Unitarians and many classes of freethinkers—were to be allowed to have their prayers, their hymns, and their addresses admitted into the churchyard, this *would be thought by numbers of Churchmen to be a deep and terrible profanation.* (Hear,

hear.) There are others who would deem it to be so in some degree with respect to those sects of Dissenters who do not differ from us largely on any dogmatic question. I do not know how far that opinion exists, but I suspect it is much more widely spread than members of this House have any conception of, and that the clergy would feel that the presence of a minister whose orders they do not recognise, and a service involving even to a small extent doctrines which they do not believe, was an injury to their conscience and unsuited to the sanctity of the holy place in which they were introduced. Your lordships must remember that of late years, while there has been a considerable feeling in favour of latitude, on the other hand a school has grown up which attaches intense importance to these distinctions, that that school, as time goes on, and as cohesion is lent to it by injudicious attacks is becoming more coherent and more organised, and that in places where it is powerful it commands an intense devotion which would find its expression in deep and earnest resistance to the proceeding contemplated by the noble earl. (Hear, hear.) I desire as I go along to guard myself at every step by saying that I have studied these matters as phenomena. I am not expressing my own coincidence, much less the coincidence of my colleagues, in the opinions I am endeavouring to describe. But I desire to draw your minds to the mere fact that although your lordships may not agree with these opinions, this is no reason why you should ignore them. They are causes which will produce effects, and if you wound men in their tenderest feelings and in matters which they hold to be sacred, you will have resistance which will certainly be pushed in every legal and constitutional way, *and I will not answer that it will not be pushed even to the extent of tumult.* (Oh !)

Then it was to be observed that the clergy were not in the same contented state as they were forty years ago. In words which are not adequately reported in the daily newspapers, he warned their lordships that there was deep dissatisfaction among the clergy in consequence of recent ecclesiastical legislation, and the non-recognition of the claims of the Church; and under such circumstances he would confidently recommend the settlement proposed by the Government in preference to a solution which would satisfy only one side, and treading down the other, would create more bitterness and acrimony than it removed, while it would intrude upon and jeopardise ancient rights, and would, in the present state of men's minds, undoubtedly lend force to those who were banding themselves together for the suppression of our Established Church.

Not the least remarkable feature of the debate was the prominent share taken in it by members of the Episcopal bench. No less than five prelates made speeches on the occasion—the two archbishops and the Bishops of Winchester, Oxford, and Ely; and considering the expressed views of the majority of the clergy in Convocation and diocesan assemblies, their right reverend leaders are greatly in advance of the clerical rank-and-file. First came the Primate, who, bustling up to the table when the noble marquis sat down, stated, amid deep silence, and in clear, measured tones, his conclusions as to the bill. The archbishop, who has somewhat changed about on this question, regards himself as the representative of the Church; and, as the clergy have of late become more combative, his grace has naturally gone back. On this occasion he was the model of a cautious prelate. He was not "enamoured" of the bill, but should vote for it. He would rather accept it, with a view to amendment by a select committee, than by carrying Lord Granville's amendment cause the bill to disappear altogether, and so shut the door to a settlement. A great part of the archbishop's speech, however, was taken up with illustrations of the hardships of the present law of burial. The case of Sir Morton Peto he regarded as a scandal to the Church of England. Another illustration told much upon the House:—

> We have within the last few days heard of the dreadful tragedy in South Wales. We have read with attention the account of the sufferings of those persons who were shut up in darkness during those long days of misery. One boy is represented as endeavouring to sustain his spirits by singing the songs of Moody and Sankey, and another was crushed to death. I do not know what was the religious persuasion of those two boys, but on looking at the hymns which were quoted in the newspapers I am rather disposed to think that both were members of the Baptist denomination Now it seems to me that human nature would cry out if the body of either of those boys was brought to the churchyard, and the clergyman was to find himself precluded, as he is by the present law, from giving Christian burial to one who, in the agonies of death, had shown that he was a real Christian. (Hear, hear.)

His grace was, therefore, strongly in favour of so amending the law as that persons who had not been baptized, and whose friends did not desire that they should be buried in silence, might be interred with some appropriate rites by the clergymen of the parish. Some clergymen—we may remark—could, perhaps, inform his grace that this proposal would by wholesale diminish Church baptism; one leading incentive to which, in rural parishes, is that Christian burial may be insured. We make the archbishop a present of the fact. His grace went on to say that, though there were persons who desired to keep the controversy open, he wished to close it, and should be glad if it could be settled in that House after the fashion o the admission of Jews to Parliament, when a noble lord proposed something, and before anybody knew where they were, the whole thing was settled, and they have not heard of it since. (A laugh.) Perhaps the present question would come to a similar close. Perhaps also—though this is entirely our own suggestion—Nonconformists, if this bill passes, may ignore "silent" burial. No one will dare to prosecute them; and thus the archbishop, to his great joy, will be provided with a ready-made solution, and the bigoted clergy be left in the lurch! Less vacillating than the Primate, the Archbishop of York, a much more robust prelate, was more inconsistent; for his lordship, who rose at a later period, announced that in his capacity of representative of the Northern Convocation, he also should vote for the bill, while he was personally in favour of Lord Granville's resolution, which (expressing his individual opinion) he regarded as embodying "*the only principle upon which they could proceed in dealing with that question.*" He did not wonder that Dissenters were not satisfied with silent burial; and as to hymns more nonsense was often written in verse than in prose. If the clergy were *not* to read the service at the grave, let them be freed from all responsibility for hymns or prayers. Better leave the matter in the hands of the friends of the deceased, "relying upon them to have an orderly, decent, and Christian service." He reiterated, amid cheers, that such was the only basis of a settlement, and that it would come before the lapse of many years. His grace entirely repudiates the idea of "wild proceedings" in the churchyard, but at the same time he denies that those common law rights, with which the resolutions of Dissenting bodies "bristle from end to end," have any existence whatever, and these "high claims" must be abandoned. The archbishop also thinks that in the matter of burial the clergy have substantial grievances which ought to be redressed, and that their "obligations" ought to be revised. A little later the Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Mackarness) in a frank, liberal speech, said, that while thanking the Government for their bill—for the overcrowding of churchyards was becoming a gross scandal—he should vote against it. Their seventy-fourth clause did not meet the case it professed to meet. His position was this—that with a view to settlement they must deal with the question as a whole, and that could only be in the spirit of Lord Granville's resolution; that they must allow liberty to the clergy as well as Dissenting ministers; and that to receive the body of a Dissenter in a churchyard, with the ordinary Dissenting service, was no desecration. All this, and much more in the same vein, was spoken in a fine liberal spirit, and took greatly with the House. Somewhat earlier in the debate, the Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Harold Browne), delivered himself, with great rapidity of utterance, of a learned argument to show that, while there was a vast difference of theory between Nonconformists and Churchmen, the Church was really comprehensive—because it offered every one its help and services; that it was national in the sense in which the army or the House of Lords was national, but in no other sense—not every one had the right to take part in its proceedings, and the Church was one body, distinct from all others. The bishop developed his sacerdotal theory at considerable length to a select audience during the dinner-hour, and contended that the most dangerous way of disestablishing the Church would be to disestablish it indirectly and by slow degrees. The speech of the Bishop of Lincoln, who spoke last of the prelates, was an exaggerated reflection of Dr. Browne's address, carrying his argument to its absurd but logical conclusion. Even in that highly Conservative assembly it sounded like the wail of a resuscitated mediæval ecclesiastic, who deserved respect for his evident earnestness. Dr. Wordsworth asked their lordships to give some consideration to the opinions of 20,000 of the most respectable, most learned, and most pious citizens of England—viz., the clergy—who certainly *get* a good deal of consideration—and he said that in his own diocese fifty-one rural deaneries, representing a thousand clergy, gave an adverse answer to Lord Granville's amendment. This is perhaps a somewhat exaggerated statement. But his lordship hinted that if the views of the learned and pious people aforesaid were set at naught, some of them would probably join the ranks of disestablishment. The good bishop concluded with a wonderful historical warning—

> The Church was disestablished in the middle of the seventeenth century; then the rights of the House of Lords were attacked; next the Monarchy itself was assailed and subverted; anarchy and confusion ensued; and, finally, there was a military despotism. He did not mean to say that these things would occur again, even if their lordships adopted the amendment of the noble earl; but he thought historical facts reproduced themselves, and he was not one of those who regarded history as an old almanack.

The weightiest speech of the debate was certainly made by Lord Selborne, who followed the Primate, and claimed the arguments of that prelate as being in favour of the principle of Lord Granville's motion. His lordship is known as a devoted Churchman—as "High," perhaps, as Lord Salisbury, but why they should take such different views of this ecclesiastical question we cannot pretend to explain. Surely it is not that they sit on opposite sides of the table in the Upper House! The ex-Chancellor's speech bristled with good points, stated with that fluency and completeness for which his lordship is famous. The noble marquis, he said, spoke of keeping up the usage of 1,000 years, but the 74th clause as it stood would alter that usage, without, however, really putting an end to the difficulty. Then Lord Salisbury said they could not legally define the phrases which occurred in the resolution, but Lord Selborne thought that the honest good sense of the administrators of the law would easily say what was clearly *not* Christian, orderly, or religious, and where doubt existed no penalties would be imposed. He himself thought the plan discussed between Mr. Morley on the one side, and Lord Shaftesbury on the other (who by the way was present on Thursday, though the recent death of his brother prevented him from speaking as was expected), and that plan being the use of prayers, hymns, and Scripture, would have been accepted by the general body of Dissenters, if proposed by the Government, and there would have been no practical difficulties in carrying it out. He warned the Ministry that this was not a diminishing grievance, or likely to diminish. It was quite possible "to educate a grievance" and Lord Selborne thus explained it:—

> That process has been going on for some time in this country, and is certainly not likely to go on less if you postpone a settlement of the question. How does it work? Dissenters who have not thought of these things are made to think of them. They have a principle put before them in this way, "Do you or do you not wish to have religious liberty in the matter of burial? Do you think it consistent with your rights to be told that you cannot bury your dead in a place where the law gives you a right to bury them with any religious observances whatever, unless they are dictated to you by the Church or by Convocation?" A great many people who have never thought of this grievance will think of it when it is put into their heads, and the more they think of it the more their *esprit de corps* as Dissenters will be increased, and the more their sense of the necessity of having their rights conceded to them will become familiarised to their minds. Therefore, the longer this grievance remains unredressed the greater will be the number of persons who from year to year or from month to month will claim to have their rights respected before the law. The other mode of political education is the insisting upon your right to refuse other people religious liberty which they claim. The more you refuse religious liberty in these matters to Nonconformists, the more certain it is that men who are in any sense at all Nonconformists will become more and more united in feeling the grievance to be a practical one, and in demanding its removal.

The bill as drawn prejudiced the good objects, sanitary and consolidating, and was no remedy for the religious grievance; for Dissenters would not incur the odium of taxing their neighbours for additional burial-grounds *not* required. Moreover, the seventy-fourth clause contained no safeguard against any irreligious or other improper service; and the remarks of his lordship on this point will not fail to attract marked attention. He said:—

> It simply provides that a burial may be made in the churchyard without the performance of any religious or of any other ceremony. There is no penalty provided for the use of a religious or any other service, however objectionable. In altering the conditions on which the legal right rests, and yet not permitting it to be exercised upon terms satisfactory to those who are entitled to it, you will be challenging and provoking an experiment, especially after what we have heard from the most rev. prelate—if, after all, it is very doubtful whether, under the present law, Dissenters have not the right to use their own religious services provided they do not interfere with the parish clergyman in the performance of his duty. You find that even clergymen of the Established Church, when they conduct services agreeable to their own ideas of duty, but not according to the interpretation which the courts place on the law, are not always ready to concede their opinions; and when the law is put in force against them a vast amount of sympathy is expressed for them by the clergy and others. Do you think there would be less sympathy with Dissenters who used some prayers and read passages of Scripture at the grave if they were prosecuted for doing so? I venture to say that that is a state of the law which you could never enforce, and it would be far better to make it clear that that is not the state of the law. (Hear, hear.)

In a few words, and very conclusively, Lord Selbourne once more demolished the argument (urged by Lord Salisbury) that if Dissenters were admitted to the churchyard they must also be allowed to use the church. It was an argument, he said, invented

to meet a purely imaginary danger. But disestablishment, to which he was no convert, was a different thing, and there were real dangers associated with that question, to which the noble lord thus adverted in concluding his interesting speech :—

It is a real danger when those whose duty in the Church is defined by law refuse to recognise the interpretations of the courts of law, and even the right of Parliament to give authority to adjudicate to any tribunal. I do not know whether they are those who think it their duty to keep Dissenters most strictly to the terms of the law in regard to the churchyards; but the course I have indicated seems to me to be a real danger in the direction of disestablishment. It is a real danger when large associations of influential persons, including clergymen and laymen, circulate through the country resolutions which commend as a right and proper thing on the part of the clergy that kind of resistance to the law. Nor does it seem to me to be quite free from danger when we find that beyond the sphere of those who either themselves break the law or invite and encourage others to break it there is a much larger class of men whose sympathies, so far as they are publicly expressed, appear to flow much more freely towards those who suffer for breaking the law than towards those whose duty it is to administer it. (Hear, hear.) It is, I think, a danger too, when we are told, apparently by influential persons, that they must have some new law to limit the Royal Supremacy, and that legislation in Church matters is absolutely necessary, but that there shall be no such legislation until Parliament gives its simple assent or dissent to provisions prepared for it either by Convocation or by some ecclesiastical assembly to be hereafter defined. These are real dangers, but dangers which those who are so sensitive to the danger of disestablishment resulting from respecting the consciences of Dissenters seem to set aside. (Hear, hear.) The Dissenters are a powerful political body. They are one of the forces which are banded together against the Established Church; but I am most afraid of them when they have a real grievance, as in this case; and I think I am doing most to diminish their power of injuring the Church when I try to remove their grievance, and when, doing to others as I would wish to be done by, I ask your lordships to settle this question, as I believe it only can be settled, on the terms proposed by my noble friend who moved the resolution. (Cheers.)

Some other noteworthy speeches were delivered. The resolution of the Liberal leader was heartily supported by the Earl of Morley, Lord Cowper, and the Marquis of Lansdowne. Lord Harrowby, on the Conservative side, while promising to vote for the bill, did not think it offered the slightest prospect of a solution of the difficulty, but he himself would move an amendment to the 74th clause in committee, if no one else came forward. The Dissenters had been greatly irritated, with or without reason. Their feelings were described as sentimental, but such a state of things was dangerous. Rather than offer silent burial, which they regarded as an affront, he would say to them, "If you prefer to be buried under the shadow of the old parish church we will receive you with open arms, and allow you to bury your dead with any religious rites which may be Christian and orderly." One of the last speeches was made by the Duke of Somerset, who has become of late years a kind of political Bashi-Bazouk, upon whose course no one can calculate. On this occasion, however, he was singularly reasonable, and behaved quite like a tractable Liberal. He warned their lordships that this grievance, like all preceding ecclesiastical grievances, would inevitably be removed, and in the way suggested by Lord Granville's resolution, though the concession might be so tardy as to be deprived of all grace. As to the probable working of the 74th clause he remarked—

Now, let him suppose that at the moment the body of a Dissenter was about to be committed to the grave, some man, animated by strong religious feeling, were to come forward and to say he would not permit a relative of his to be buried in that way, what was to be done should he violate the law? Was a police constable to be brought in to seize him? He thought not; for if that were done, the result would be to cause great excitement throughout the neighbourhood, and, therefore, it being once resolved that Dissenters should be admitted to the churchyards, it was far better, in his opinion, that a service at the grave should be allowed to be performed by a duly recognised minister. By that means all danger of collision would be avoided, while he felt confident that the great body of Dissenters would respect the churchyards.

Some people in the gallery were in hopes that Lord Beaconsfield, who sat out the debate with his usual perseverance and impassiveness of demeanour, would come forward—oblivious of the fact that the Lord President had moved the second reading without a speech, and would naturally wind up the debate. This he did somewhere about eleven o'clock. The Duke of Richmond is not a ready speaker nor debater. The weightiest arguments against the bill he evaded, but he vindicated with much energy the two objects of the bill—the removal of sanitary evils and consolidation, and triumphantly claimed that nothing was that night said to gainsay "either of those propositions." The religious grievance, he still maintained, was a small one, and a curious statistical calculation led him to the conclusion that it was felt by no more than 2,000 people! Could it be said that the Dissenters generally objected to burial with the rites of the Church, when seventy-five per cent. of all the marriages in England in 1873 were solemnised according to the rites of the Established Church," and only eleven per cent. were married in Nonconformist chapels? It was the same in respect to cemeteries, where the consecrated ground was preferred by a large portion of Dissenters. He objected to the exclusive discussion of this seventy-fourth clause, which one noble lord (the Earl of Morley) had described as "a deadly insult." Yet in 1871 and 1872 bills passed through that House upon which there was no division and in which there was a clause almost identical with the seventy-fourth clause of that bill. That bill passed their Lordships' House on two occasions, and on one occasion it was read a second time in the other House of Parliament, and had received the assent of the noble earl opposite. [This remark was not quite ingenuous, for silent burials was only an alternative of a free service] If he (the duke) was astonished to find that clause considered an insult, he was equally astonished to find that this question was being introduced into the arena of party politics, and thought the Liberal party must be very much at loss for a subject around which to rally their friends, or "have got very sensitive on a sudden." The chief features of his grace's somewhat feeble and not over-polished reply was his evident soreness that so unusual a resolution should have been moved, and his remark that if the law against brawling did not avail to preserve "silence" under the 74th clause, the clause could be strengthened in committee.

Then followed the division, which was more favourable to Lord Granville than could have been expected, and elicited considerable cheering on the Opposition side. The numbers were—(the question being, "That this bill be now read a second time.")—

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Majority against the amendment	—39

It only remains to add that the analysis of the division list given elsewhere quite justifies the cheerful spirit of the Liberal Peers, and justifies the tactics so courageously pursued by Earl Granville in reference to this bill.

The bill was put down to go into committee on Thursday next; but when Lord Granville, on Friday, pointed out that this would be Ascension Day, Lord Carnarvon said that this was an oversight. On Tuesday the Duke of Richmond finally fixed Thursday, May 17th. Noticing the length of the postponement, Lord Granville slily remarked that the Government did not seem very anxious about the passing of the bill. The Duke, of course, replied that the inference was not correct, because nothing would be gained by sending down the bill to the Commons within the next fortnight. The following are the new clauses which Lord Granville intends to propose for insertion in the Burials Bill, after Clause 74 :—

In any case in which such request as last aforesaid shall be made, and also in any case in which the use of the burial service of the Church of England shall be prohibited by the law ecclesiastical, or in which the minister whose duty it is to perform such service shall refuse to do so, it shall be lawful for the relatives or persons having charge of the burial of any deceased person to commit his remains to the ground in any churchyard in which he had a right of interment with such Christian and orderly religious observances as to them shall seem fit, or (at their option) without any religious service or ceremony.

If any person shall in any churchyard use any observance or ceremony, or deliver any address not authorised by this Act, or otherwise permitted by law, or by any lawful authority, or be guilty of any disorderly conduct, or conduct calculated to provoke a breach of the peace, or shall under colour of any religious observance or otherwise in any churchyard wilfully endeavour to bring into contempt or obloquy the Christian religion or the belief or worship of any Church or denomination of Christians, or the ministers or any minister of any such Church or denomination, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanour.

The Earl of Shaftesbury will propose to insert words providing that permission be granted to Nonconformists to use at their discretion, and according to their judgment, passages from the Bible, free prayer, and hymns, taking them in whole or in part, as they shall see fit.

THE GOVERNMENT BURIALS BILL.—DIVISION ON LORD GRANVILLE'S RESOLUTION.

The following comparative statement shows that the progress which has been made in the House of Lords in regard to the principle involved in Mr. Osborne Morgan's Burial Bill :—

	1876.	1877.
Voted for Lord Granville's resolution	92	102
Paired for ditto	23—115	22—124
Voted against resolution	148	141
Paired against ditto	23—171	22—163
Majority against	56	39

Including pairs, the supporters of the resolution have this session gained nine, and its opponents have lost eight.

Nineteen peers who voted with Lord Granville last year were absent this; but twenty-one who were absent last year voted with him this. The total number of peers who have supported the resolutions by either vote or pair is now 137. One peer on each side has changed his vote in the two divisions.

The following Peers, who supported the resolution of 1876, were absent this year :—

Marquis of Sligo.	Lord Sudeley.
Viscount Leinster.	Earl of Southesk (pd.).
,, Lismore.	,, Granard (pd.).
Bishop of Exeter.	Lord Truro (pd.).
Lord Ashburton.	Earl of Craven (pd.).
,, Congleton.	,, Minto (pd.).
,, Cottesloe.	Duke of Roxburghe (pd.).
,, Dormer.	Marquis of Conyngham (p.)
,, Hatherton.	Lord Lisgar (pd.).
,, Lyveden.	

Total, nineteen.

The following peers supported the motion of 1877 who were absent in 1876 :—

Earl Dartrey.	Lord Hammond.
,, Effingham.	,, Keane.
,, Fortescue.	,, Lovat.
,, Northbrook.	,, Lyttelton.
,, Suffolk.	,, Moncrieff.
,, Zetland.	,, Monteagle of Brandon
Bishop of Oxford.	,, Seaton.
Lord de Tabley.	,, Stafford.
,, Ettrick.	,, Thurlow.
,, Fitzhardinge.	,, Vivian.
,, Greville.	

Total, twenty-one.

SKETCHES FROM THE GALLERY.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, Tuesday Night.

The announcement quietly made by Mr. Howard on Friday, of the intention of Mr. Gladstone to call attention to the Eastern Question, and to the prospective policy of the British Government, fell like a thunderbolt on the House of Commons. It was well known that there had been a meeting of some of the more restless members of the Liberal party sitting below the gangway, at which the propriety of urging action upon the Marquis of Hartington had been discussed. At that meeting it was decided that the time was not opportune for moving against the Government, and the meeting—which by the way was not a very large one, nor composed of very influential members—separated with that understanding. A counter demonstration had been made by other Liberals below the gangway, who had conveyed to the Marquis of Hartington the information, that should he permit himself to be seduced into any action that might appear to urge the Government to take an active part in the war, he must count upon their defection.

All these things were known in the House, and it was felt that after this futile attempt the Eastern Question was for the present laid, and that matters would go on much as they had progressed hitherto. In the midst of this comfortable assurance came Mr. Howard, a quiet, white-haired gentleman, who interferes so little in the business of the House that his face and name are unfamiliar to all but those who chance to know him privately. No one paid any attention to him when he rose, and he delivered the announcement in such a low indistinct tone that it was some minutes before the word was passed through the House that he had been selected as the emissary of Mr. Gladstone to give notice of the proximate propulsion of a bombshell. These means of making the announcement to the House were peculiar, though their significance is well understood. In taking this step Mr. Gladstone acts independently of the Marquis of Hartington, and of other gentlemen on the front Opposition bench. Had he appeared at the table *in propriâ personâ* and given notice of the motion, it would have been taken as an indication of combined and official action on the part of the Opposition. In order to avert that misconception, Mr. Gladstone took advantage of a slight indisposition, and commissioned Mr. Howard, speaking from a back bench, to give notice for him. It was thus unmistakably declared that the motion to be moved by the right hon. gentleman the Member for Greenwich, would be brought forward in his capacity as a private member.

The Conservatives, whose personal dislike for Mr. Gladstone occasionally transcends the bounds even of politeness, tittered when last night the right hon. gentleman approached the table and said that he had formulated his views on the Eastern Question in five resolutions. As you will doubtless give them in full, I do not attempt to summarise them, contenting myself by recording that they were received very coolly, only a few Liberals committing themselves to approval by a cheer. After a few minutes pause, Sir John Lubbock introduced a new element

of surprise into the proceedings by giving notice of his intention to move "the previous question." The Conservatives cheered this as appearing to indicate fresh dissension in the Opposition ranks. But I have the best authority to state that Sir John Lubbock took this step simply as a matter of Parliamentary tactics. Private notice of a similar amendment had been given by Sir Henry Wolff; and there was some suspicion on the Opposition side that at the last moment this might be withdrawn, and an amendment embodying a vote of confidence substituted. Sir John Lubbock's amendment will prevent all that. The debate was fixed to take place on Monday next, and will doubtless prove one of the most important of the session. Mr. Gladstone categorically announced that he had taken this step without concert with his friends on the front Opposition bench. But it is impossible that they can abstain from participation.

The other principal event of the week has been the debate in the House of Lords on the Burials Bill. This came off on Thursday before a full House. Amongst those privileged to be seated in the galleries were the Chinese Ambassadors, who, doubtless, found in this discussion as to giving burial to Dissenters, one of the most striking proofs of the existence of the backwardness in civilisation as compared with China, upon which Chinese travellers are accustomed to enlarge. Earl Granville moved his strong resolution in a very able and plainly-spoken speech. The noble lord said at the outset that, though he should not regret the rejection of the Bill on its second reading, if that might be compassed, the object of his motion would simply be to postpone consideration of the Bill. The main argument advanced by the Marquis of Salisbury, and reiterated by subsequent speakers on the same side, was the stale Parliamentary one with which Ministers from time immemorial have been accustomed to meet hostile resolutions of this order. The question raised, they said, is one for committee. Let us go into committee and we will then talk about it. The Bishop of Lincoln, to do him justice, was not content with this uncertain note of opposition. He declared against the amendment in an emphatic manner, and must have profoundly impressed the Chinese if his remarks were fairly interpreted, when he expressed his holy horror at the mere prospect of Nonconformists being buried in churchyards with any other formula than that set forth in the Prayer-book. Amongst lay brethren the Earl of Dartmouth was equally uncompromising, and showed himself utterly shocked by the proposal. The Archbishop of Canterbury, as usual, mildly strove to steer a middle course—his effort to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds leaving, on the whole, rather a sickly taste on the palate. Far different was the speech of the Bishop of Oxford, who boldly declared himself in favour of the resolution, and not only spoke in favour of it, but voted for it. After seven hours, debate the House divided, when the amendment was rejected by 163 votes against 124—figures which show a marked advance on the result of the debate of last year, the Ministerial majority then being 56 whilst it is now only 39. At this rate of progress it appears a mathematical certainty that three sessions hence the principle of toleration, which Earl Granville affirms and which the House of Commons has triumphantly confirmed, will be accepted by both Houses of Parliament.

Mr. Biggar has not shown himself in opposition to the Universities Bill. Nevertheless that measure makes but slow progress. The whole of Thursday night was occupied with a consideration of it; the most animated conversation taking place on a consideration of the names of the gentlemen proposed as Commissioners, to be appointed under the Act. The holy horror of anything unorthodox, rampant at the time in the House of Lords, found respectable echo in the Commons, where tainted names, such as that of Professor Huxley, proposed by Mr. Grant Duff, were warmly discussed and emphatically rejected. The bill was in committee again last night, but it seems yet remote from the period at which it may be sent up to the other House.

The Government were in a most complacent mood to-night, being inclined to agree to most things that were asked of them—all except a resolution which Mr. Alderman McArthur introduced, condemning the unsatisfactory state of affairs in the island of Ceylon with respect to ecclesiastical endowments. The motion was, however, defeated by so narrow a majority as to be equal to a vote of censure on the arrangements questioned. The Government, by way of making amends, agreed to a motion for a select committee, proposed by Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, to reconsider the clauses of the Irish Land Act, 1870, designed to promote the purchase of land by occupying tenants, and also to one to inquire into the Companies Acts of 1862 and 1867. Mr. Cross brought in his bill for founding four new bishoprics in England, and then followed a prolonged wrangle over the names of the Select Committee on the Cattle Plague. The whole business arose out of the determination of the Home Rulers to force Mr. Biggar upon the House, and the determination of the House not to have Mr. Biggar forced upon it. It was not under any circumstances a seemly performance, and it was made the worse by the fact that the necessity for the appointment of a committee, altogether lost sight in the squabble, was necessitated by the imminence of the spread of the deadly plague.

BAPTIST UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

The adjourned session of the Union was held at Walworth-road Chapel on Thursday morning. A devotional service of an hour's duration was held, presided over by the Rev. Professor Dowson, of Manchester, after which the President of the Union, the Rev. J. T. Brown, took the chair. The names of the committee were read and agreed to, and the Rev. J. P. Chown moved a resolution appointing the Revs. Dr. Maclaren, Dr. Landels, and J. H. Millard as honorary members of the Baptist Union. The Rev. S. H. BOOTH seconded the resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Mr. A. H. BAYNES, in the absence of the treasurer, read the balance-sheet for the year ending March 31, which showed that the total receipts had been 375*l.* 6s. 6d., and the expenditure about the same.

Mr. John Sands was invited to continue his service as treasurer, and Mr. S. R. Pattison as solicitor, and resolutions appointing them were adopted.

THE RETIRING SECRETARY.

The Rev. F. TRESTRAIL moved a resolution thanking the retiring secretary, the Rev. J. H. Millard, for his services, and proposing that steps be taken for presenting him with a substantial acknowledgement thereof. He eulogised the services Mr. Millard had rendered to the Union, and expressed a hope that Baptists would show their gratitude to that gentleman for the work he had accomplished for the Union. The Rev. Dr. LANDELS, in seconding the resolution, said Mr. Millard had taken up the Union when it was a mere bantling, and that he had had great difficulties to contend against. If it had not been for his dogged perseverance, the Union would not now occupy the position it did. Mr. J. HARVEY hoped that friends would not suppose the testimonial was to be limited to a few, but that it would be taken up by the multitude. Mr. JOHN TEMPLETON said that, as a member of the committee, he had had constant opportunities of meeting Mr. Millard, and bore witness to the conscientious spirit in which he had discharged all his duties. The resolution was unanimously adopted, and a sub-committee appointed to take the necessary steps to carry it into effect.

THE GOVERNMENT BURIALS BILL.

The Rev. Dr. STOCK moved the adoption of a petition to the House of Lords protesting against the Government Burials Bill, which, he said, though intended to settle the question, did not even touch their grievance. They asked for perfect equality in the eye of the law in the national burial grounds, and as Baptists they required that their special grievance should be met by any bill that was to settle the question. So long as the Prayer-book ordered that the burial service should not be said for those who died unbaptized, and so long as the law of the land gave the clergy not only power to refuse to bury such themselves, but to forbid the minister of any other denomination to do so, their grievance remained. He was quite ready to respect the conscientious scruples of clergymen to bury unbaptized children, but he did object to the law giving them power to exclude other ministers from the national burial-grounds. There were 10,900 burial places in the country, and 10,000 of them were not nearly full, and there was no pretext for closing them. The bill provided that other burial-places should be formed, and gave Dissenters the sublime privilege of paying for them, while the restrictions were to be substantially the same as now. They were to pay for burial-grounds that they did not want, and were then denied equal rights in them. If that was not adding insult to injury he did not know what was! The Rev. J. BLOMFIELD, of Gloucester, seconded the resolution, which after some discussion was unanimously agreed to.

THE ANNUITY FUND.

Mr. J. HARVEY, treasurer of the Annuity Fund, stated that the total amount promised was 52,000*l.*, of which over 15,000*l.* had been paid and invested. The Rev. C. M. BIRRELL moved a resolution thanking Messrs. Harvey, Landels, and C. Williams for their services in connection with the fund. Mr. S. R. PATTISON seconded it, and it was adopted. Mr. J. HARVEY briefly acknowledged the vote. The Rev. C. WILLIAMS, in reply, said the work had been to him a labour of love, and he was delighted to render any service to the Baptist Union, through whom he had himself received much blessing. With regard to the Annuity Fund, they had secured the amount they originally intended as a guarantee fund, but Dr. Landels was right in saying that it was not sufficient for all their need. He loved the fund so much that he entreated them not to endow it. During the next twelvemonth they would be compelled to negotiate with other funds, and the amalgamations would cost something, so that at least 60,000*l.* would be required to enable them to put by 50,000*l.* He hoped the Augmentation Fund would not be lost sight of, as although it was quite right they should provide for their aged ministers, they should also care for those who were doing the work, and for those who shared their anxieties.

The Rev. Dr. LANDELS said there was no real difference between Mr. Williams and himself about that fund. He hated as much as did Mr. Williams any endowment, but they had no one to endow; they only made provision for their old age. He thought there was no reason why they should stop at 50,000*l.*, as only half the country had been canvassed, and it would be unjust to stop there, and not be keeping faith with those who had contributed. He hoped they would not let this thing stop, but, for the sake of their aged ministers, let them go on until their highest desire had been accomplished.

After the transaction of some other business, the Rev. R. GLOVER moved a resolution on the Turkish question which was seconded by the Rev. Mr. Lance, and after some discussion carried.

BAPTIST HOME MISSIONS.

The Rev. J. BIGWOOD said that a marriage had been arranged between the Baptist British and Irish Missionary Society and their Union. The matter had been frequently before them, but had been put back from time to time. At length the arrangement had been accomplished. In retiring from his position in connection with the Home Missionary Society, he felt pleased that the union had adopted that society, for they would now have it on their hearts to support that important mission. Their village churches would more than ever require their sympathy and assistance. He did not think that as yet they had felt the full force of the evils which would arise from the working of the last year's Education Act, and if children were to be instructed by the Church of England, at a time when Ritualism was most prevalent, it was important that the simple truth of Jesus should be presented to them. There were growing populations throughout the country which required all the help they could give them, and if they made that society their own they would not be able to refuse to help it.

The Rev. T. M. MORRIS moved a resolution approving of the proposed Union, which was seconded by the Rev. W. P. COPE, and carried, after some objections from the Rev. Dr. STOCK. On the motion of Mr. GOADBY, seconded by the Rev. ARCHIBALD BROWN, delegates were appointed to the Liberation Society Conference, and the proceedings were concluded by the singing of the doxology and prayer, and the benediction from the president.

THE DINNER.

The delegates then proceeded to the Metropolitan Tabernacle, where they were entertained, as usual, by the London Baptist Association, with an excellent dinner, provided under the superintendence of Mr. Murrell. The Rev. Archibald Brown, president of the London Baptist Association, presided, and at the conclusion of the dinner, the Rev. J. T. BROWN moved, and the Rev. C. M. BIRRELL seconded, a vote of thanks to the London Baptist Association for their hospitality. Sir S. M. PETO and the Rev. Dr. MITCHELL, of Chicago, spoke, and the Rev. C. H. SPURGEON presented the Rev. Dr. Landels with a testimonial subscribed for by 536 Baptist ministers, consisting of a silver tea-service and a beautifully-illuminated address, the work of Mr. Thomas. Mr. Spurgeon in the course of his remarks expressed the pleasure they had in entertaining their brethren, and remarked on the greater unity that now prevailed amongst them. They were deeply grateful to Dr. Landels for all that he had done in connection with the Annuity Fund, and prayed that blessings might rest upon him and his family. He hoped they would enable Dr. Landels to complete the work that he had begun so well, and if there must be an endowment that they would make it a good one. The Rev. J. T. WIGNER read the address, which was handsomely framed and hung at the back of the platform.

The Rev. Dr. LANDELS said their kindness quite overwhelmed him, and he could not find words to express his gratitude. He could only accept their gift, not as an expression of his merit, but of their affection and general approval of the service he had been able to render, which was with him a simple matter of duty. He found work awaiting him before he became president, and the draft scheme was submitted to him, and he took part in its formation. When it finally received the sanction of the Union, he resolved that he would not ask friends to do what he was not prepared to do himself, and in the house of Sir Robert Lush they began the work. Since then he had paid some seventy or eighty visits to churches in various parts of the kingdom. For most of those meetings he had had to make arrangements. It had not been hard but delightful work to him, and when it was all done he should feel that a great pleasure had passed away. (Cheers.) He had opposed the idea of absorption by another denomination, and that idea had been dispelled. He had worked in parallel lines for the same end—to prevent good members being drawn off, and that they should be provided

for. They were a more united body that day than ever they had been before. The Rev. J. P. CHOWN reminded the brethren of the testimonial to Mr. Millard, and the meeting closed with the benediction pronounced by the Chairman.

BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Missionary Society took place at Exeter Hall on Thursday evening, when the large hall was completely filled with an enthusiastic audience. Mr. Alderman Barran, M.P., for Leeds, presided, supported by the Revs. C. H. Spurgeon, W. M. Statham, C. Bailhache, Dr. Angus, J. P. Chown, J. T. Brown; Mr. S. D. Waddy, M.P., Sir Robert Lush, Dr. Underhill, Sir S. M. Peto, Bart., Mr. E. S. Robinson, and many other gentlemen. A hymn was first sung, and the Rev. J. P. Chown offered prayer.

The Rev. CLEMENT BAILHACHE then read an abstract of the eighty-fifth annual report, which, after some general remarks, referred to the testimony given by their missionaries as to the work done: in France—which had been more than ordinarily encouraging, in consequence of greater freedom from official interference; in Italy, where the hope of their agents had been greatly raised; and there had been manifest results from the preaching of the Gospel in Norway, where there had been a year of gladness. But it was from India that they had the most cheering reports. The missionaries, such as Mr. Guyton (of Delhi), Messrs. Kerry and Martin (of Barisaul), Mr. Bate (of Allahabad), and Mr. Bion (of Dacca), spoke of steady progress, the increase of the churches, and of the prospect of a still greater harvest. Their hindrances arose from the influence of a heathenism which had existed for ages, and the proselyting efforts of the Roman Catholics, who, at some stations, such as in Khoolnea, bribe excluded members to join them, and prefer this work to seeking to teach the Mahomedans and Hindoos. At other places, Ceylon in particular, they found the teaching of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration to be a great hindrance. In reference to the native churches, the report is satisfactory. Dr. Caldwell, an experienced missionary of Southern India, says:—

I maintain that the real earnest Christians of our Indian missions have no need to shrink from comparison with the real earnest Christians in a similar station in life, and similarly circumstanced, in England, or in any other part of the world. . . . . I do not for a moment pretend that they are free from imperfections; on the contrary, living amongst them as I do from day to day, I see their imperfections daily, and daily do I reprove, rebuke, exhort, as I see need; but I am bound to say that when I have gone away anywhere, and look back upon the Christians of this country from a distance, or compare them with what I have seen and known of Christians in other countries, I have found that their good qualities have left a deeper impression on my mind than their imperfections.

Other testimony indicates that, for the most part, the native converts have a keener moral sense, are more honest, treat their wives better, than the Hindoos around them, and show a deep interest in the worship of God. Now that the churches are becoming more numerous, the policy of the society that the churches should learn more and more to support their own ministers and institutions, has received increased attention, though it has not been carried out to such an extent as might have been expected. But the committee are now pledged to the development of native independence and self-support. English missionaries are no longer to be the pastors of native churches, except in cases where the necessity is imperative, and such cases are very rare.

In this matter, as well as in the general application of the principle above stated, it is gratifying to know that the missionaries are now in almost complete accord with the committee. Mr. Smith's experiment in Delhi has been very stimulating to others. In the native churches of the south villages, Mr. Kerry for years has carried out the committee's instructions, and the churches have been urged to supplement, by their own liberality, the yearly diminishing help given from England. Mr. Kerry and Mr. Martin are entrusted with the same duty in the churches in Backergunge. The experiment is only a partial success, and it is just possible to press changes forward a little too fast. But neither abroad nor at home is it likely that we shall forget to use the means by which a stronger and more manly Christian life may be developed. Your committee feel sure that, year by year, there will be increasing progress in this direction.

But the difficulties with which the missionaries have to contend are very great. The people are naturally dependent, and they have not been taught to give to the cause of Christ, there is still much general ignorance, and the interference of other denominations—especially the agents of the Romish Church and the Propagation Society—has been an obstacle, especially south of Calcutta, though in respect to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, it has of late years much abated. The Romish Church spends large funds in order to increase its adherents. The report then refers to the help rendered to the objects of the society by the great circulation of the Bible in the vernacular, in preparing which versions their missionaries have borne so conspicuous and honourable a part. The English language has so much spread in India, that the Bible in that form may be purchased cheaply in almost every town, and very frequently the natives purchase it in preference to the translations in their own languages. The work of translation which has been carried on by Mr. Rouse, Mr. Bate and Mr. Carter, of Ceylon, is reported in detail, and it is stated that Mr. Ellis has completed the Bengali Manual of Christian duty, the Gospel of Matthew, in Bengali-Mussulmani, and has also translated into Bengali the first and second English reading-books of the Calcutta Tract Society. In the work of circulating the Bible all the agents of the society are more or less engaged — missionaries, native teachers, schoolmasters, colporteurs and the visitors in the zenanas. The greater portion are not given away, but paid for, though the price is very low. The report states that of late years intemperance has been greatly on the increase in India, and that many of the missionaries do their utmost to diminish the evil, and a temperance association has been formed in connection with the mission work. Great attention has been given to the religious and moral condition of British soldiers in India, and the missionaries have found an invaluable helper in this work in Mrs. Rouse, of Calcutta. On the question of education it is stated that many thousands of children in the various mission-fields are under the teaching of the missionaries of the society and their helpers. Secular learning of an elementary character is imparted to these children; but, in addition, in all these schools the truths of Christianity are regularly taught. Reference is also made to the important work carried on by the Zenana Mission, which is more particularly noticed elsewhere. The report goes on to notice the missionary staff. During the past year several missionaries have been sent out to various fields of labour, but some who had but recently gone out have returned, and others who had been specially honoured in their work have been obliged to retire, including the Rev. J. C. Page, of Darjeeling, after thirty years of self-denying labour; the Rev. W. A. Hobbs; and the Rev. A. Saker after thirty-six years of toil in the deadly climate of Africa. The missionaries who have been removed by death are the Rev. John Edgell Gummer, of Hayti, who has been called to his rest at the early age of thirty-one, and the Rev. Robert Smith, of the Cameroons Mission, who was called away at a time when he seemed to have reached the highest point of his efficiency. Several missionaries are still at home, including the Rev. James Smith, of Delhi; the Rev. Isaac Allen, M.A., of Dacca; the Rev. John Trafford, M.A., of Serampore, whose stay in England has been unavoidably prolonged through the pressure of parental affliction and suspense; the Rev. H. R. Pigott, of Colombo, Ceylon; and the Rev. C. Carter, of Kandy. All these will most probably have returned before the winter.

Mr. J. TRITTON, the treasurer, then presented the balance-sheet. Excluding donations for the debt and contributions for special funds, the receipts of the year amount to 38,359*l.* 6s. 10d., and the expenditure to 38,330*l.* 18s. 10d., as compared with 33,888*l.* 9s. 3d. receipts, and 39,433*l.* 6s. 3d. expenditure for the previous year, showing an increase in the general receipts of 4,470*l.* 17s. 7d., and a decrease in expenditure of 1,102*l.* 7s. 5d. To this increase in general receipts should be added the 591*l.* 9s. 1d. specially contributed towards the liquidation of last year's debt, and 94*l.* 10s. 2d. increase in contributions for the Widows' and Orphans' Fund, making a total increase in receipts for the year of 5,157*l.* 16s. 10d. Satisfactory, however, as this increase is, it should be remembered that it falls far short of the present needs of the Mission, leaving out of view any further extension of the work. A further permanent increase in the contributions to the Mission of at least 5,000*l.* is urgently called for, and the committee earnestly hope that during the coming year, through the deepening liberality of the churches, this sum may be obtained.

The CHAIRMAN said the report to which they had listened and the cash report from their treasurer must have filled all their hearts with gladness and thankfulness to God for His mercy towards them as a society. When they remembered the position they were in a year since, and that their honoured secretary, who had served them faithfully and ardently for twenty-seven years had seen it his duty to retire from that office, and that his place was to be occupied by two of their brethren who had been labouring with him, but had not felt the full responsibility of that work, they were justified in feeling anxiety respecting the affairs of the society, especially the financial part. From time to time God permitted His servants to retire from their labours in which they had been engaged; but He always provided those capable of carrying on His work in the world. Their two brethren, Bailhache and Baynes, had laboured hard, diligently, and successfully during the past year. They had not only maintained the old organisation of the society, but had largely increased its power. They were all agreed that it was one thing to have organisation, and another to have life, and he believed that the power of earnest prayer had resulted in that which had been reported to them that evening. When they remembered the severe depression of trade, the demands made upon them as a denomination, and that all they did had to be done by themselves, they had reason to unite in thankfulness to God with His people for what had been accomplished during the past year. He believed that what had been done in the past was only a foretaste of their success in the future. They had realised an increase of 4,000*l.* in their income, and had been able to pay off some portion of the balance due to the treasurer. Looking at this increase of subscribers and donations, might they not conclude that if the confidence of their churches was as great as ever in the cause, there would yet be large sums of money, which, without trespassing too much upon their friends, would be forthcoming to meet not only the present demands upon the committee, but in order that they might be able to augment the number of missionaries, and generally to carry out their missionary objects with greater efficiency. (Cheers.) There was no doubt that it was necessary to put forth greater efforts. The progress of the world now was more rapid than in the past, the necessity of Christian influence was greater, and the difficulties in the way of their missionaries were also more serious. When Carey went to India there were no Roman Catholics and no sacerdotal priests of the Church of England to contend against, but to-day, with the march of intellect and the development of commerce, their missionaries had far more to contend with. It was essential that they should be men of the same stamp as Marshman, Carey, and Pearse. Thank God such men were coming forward and labouring in the mission field, and the committee asked their friends to put them in possession of adequate means to carry on that great work. Not only in India, but in Ceylon, difficulties were presenting themselves in the work of their brethren. It was not many years since they were expelled from West Africa, and the power that drove them out there would expel them from India if possible, and was using means which were dishonourable to them as men, and especially as men professing the Christian religion. They were not only trying by bribery and corruption to bolster up their Church, but were fighting them with weapons which they themselves dare not and would scorn to use, but which they were bound to denounce. They rejoiced that they were members of a free Church, and that wherever their missionaries went they would always act upon the principle that all the privileges they asked for themselves were conceded to all others. They asked for a fair field and no favour. (Cheers.)

The Rev. W. M. STATHAM, of Hare-court Chapel, Canonbury, moved the first resolution:—

That this meeting expresses its devout thankfulness to God for the success which has attended the labours of the missionaries of the society in all the fields into which its operations extend; for the new translations of the Word of God which have been made, and for the continued and increasing circulation of the Scriptures; for the many proofs of increasing interest in the Gospel which are given in India and elsewhere; for the blessing which has attended the instruction of the young; and for the liberality of the churches at home, particularly during a year of widespread commercial depression, and of extraordinary claims on the generosity of the denomination.

He would be very happy to move the adoption of the report if they would do their part and read it, for he regretted that reports were too often shelved, whereas if these same statements were printed in the *Pall Mall Gazette* they would be read and thought very good. That was a very beautiful rainbow resolution, and expressed devout thankfulness. He was sure that work could be better done in an atmosphere of thankfulness. After all the hostile criticism to which it had been exposed, there was nothing so strong in the nineteenth century as the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. (Hear, hear.) He hated to see men apologising for their faith, and thinking that they must answer every one who shot his little arrow against it. People now call their thought agnosticism; that was they knew nothing. He would rather stand up as St. Paul did and say, "I know in whom I have believed." (Cheers.) It was that knowledge that nerved the apostle to stand in the presence of the shrine-makers, and so to preach as to turn many away from that business. It would have been difficult to make an agnostic of the man who had looked upon the face of Jesus Christ. They were in the presence of the testimony of work done by their brethren, but it was well to take the testimony of men outside, and Mr. Darwin had said that the message of the missionary was an enchanter's wand. Let them take that and remember that there was no enchanter's wand like the Gospel of Christ—ever old and ever new. Their missionaries were doing a great work, and they should not forget also the devotion of their wives, from whom they received the most human comfort. They were not now troubled about the sovereignty of God. Calvin even sent out twelve missionaries to preach the love of God. That question did trouble them once, but they had learnt the lesson that, unless they went out of themselves, they could not do good to others. The resolution spoke of success in all the fields, which was very wonderful to him. But they were to a large extent inheriting the work which their fathers did. In Polynesia it was sixteen years before they had a single convert, and in Sierra Leone over nine years, but they waited in faith and prayer—and their success was none the less when they had cast the seed into the furrows. The report spoke of money, and if their faithfulness only found expression in cheering, and their eloquence in words, they were not doing as much as their fathers did. It was pleasant to report increase, but it must be remembered that the measure of their opportunity was the measure of their responsibility. (Hear, hear.) The churches that were doing the most for the spread of the Gospel were reaping the richest reward. He called upon them to bear witness to rejoice and give thanks in the spirit of the resolution that their blessed Lord and risen Saviour was exercising greater influence to-day than in the ages that had gone before. Popery was lifting up its head, and would, if possible, stamp out every mission of their society in every land, but they would best meet Romanism by the faithful proclamation of the grace of their Lord and

Saviour Jesus Christ. It was under that banner they had conquered, and let them work and love and go forward in the spirit of him who said, we always triumph through Jesus Christ, and who knew that where the Gospel went there was liberty for the captive. They need not fear, for in the words of the hymn—

Jesus shall reign where'er the sun
Doth his successive journeys run,
His kingdom stretch from shore to shore
Till moons shall wax and wane no more.

(Cheers.)

Rev. C. H. SPURGEON, who was loudly applauded on rising, said he was always sorry that they cheered him at the commencement because they little knew how they would be disappointed. (Laughter.) Their esteemed friend (Mr. Statham) had been leading them in the right tone, and he believed that if they would read the report they would be greatly pleased with it. It was not only very interesting but exceedingly well written. He found as a rule that when he could not sleep at night a report was the best soporific. (Laughter.) But there was nothing soporific about that report. The spirit of gratitude, which was the key-note of the resolution, he hoped reigned supreme in the hearts of all who had done anything for that society, and though they should not expect those who had done nothing to be grateful, yet they might be penitent, and they would all rejoice that something more had been done that year than last. He was grateful for the success of which the report spoke, and he felt deep gratitude to God for allowing him to have a part in it, and to do anything at all for Him. He invited them to be thankful to God for permitting them to serve Him. They lacked one evidence of the perfect reconciliation of their souls to God until they tried to do something for Him. The sense of oneness with Christ would not have been perfect if He had not left them something to do for Him. From experience he could say that fellowship with Christ was never so vivid and real as when they tried to win a soul for Him. When they tried to set the argument of Divine mercy before anyone, when they felt that they could die for that soul, then they came to read the heart of Him who shed His blood for them. They must have something of that sort to do, and the Church wanted mission work to lift her up to a proper elevation, where she would begin to know the great heart of Christ in a right sense, and understand something of Him who came to save those who were lost. He felt incapable of making such a missionary speech as the vast importance of the subject demanded, and as Mr. Smith, of Delhi, could make. He would only say a few words on the honour God had done them in allowing them to be co-workers with Him. He believed in the ultimate winning of the whole world for Christ—(cheers)—but he liked nothing that made him feel easy about men's souls. It was a high privilege that God had given them to be associated with Him in that work of salvation. The enterprise of winning the world to Christ was looked upon by some with a degree of dread because it was stupendous. But that was to him the very charm of it. If God had told them to limit their endeavours to England only he thought they would soon have been crying out to Him to allow them to go to other races and nations—to France, Italy, or India—let them be glad that the commission was so extensive. He would not have the battle of life less stern, but would pray for more strength to wage it—(cheers)—so that they might work in faith regardless of the odds against them, and the stupendous difficulties in their path. It was, after all, only eighty-five years ago since missionary enterprise began, so they had not been long at the work, and the first results were small. Their Lord would come time enough; "but for my part (said Mr. Spurgeon) I will rejoice if He comes now; I will rejoice, if I live to see it, if He does not come for ten thousand years, because one likes to know that Christ gives to His Church now a long trust, a long fight, and a long work to do." They would be in heaven very, very soon, and there one would like to have something to recollect of what was done here below; and if one could have fifty years of service crowded full of work for Christ, he might praise the Lord for that, and think over the incidents with grateful adoration for ever. The Church must have some history as well as her history written yonder in a blaze of light for her greatest honour; and the greatest honour she could do her Master came from the history written in blood, and the history written in toil and sweat, by her missionaries among the sons of men. (Applause.) Some had complained of the expense, in the spirit of him who asked "why was not this ointment sold, and the money given to the poor." If the Lord had given them a work to do which would only cost a few pounds they would have had to go and ask him for something to pour out their alabaster box of ointment upon. But He had given them a work to do which would task all their powers. He would like before sitting down to express his intense satisfaction with the missionaries of that society, and he rejoiced to know that they rose to a sense of the responsibility that God had laid upon them. And he could mention some missionaries' wives who were worth their weight in gold, such as Mrs. Rouse, of Calcutta, famous among women. (Cheers.) He thanked God there was a Divine and earnest spirit amongst their missionaries and they did their work right gloriously. And he dreamt of successors to the Careys, Marshmans, and Knibbs, men who would stand forth with a consecrated spirit to do the Master's work. They must get up to a higher stage of prayer to God for missions. Mr. Spurgeon concluded with an earnest exhortation to all to work for Christ and the salvation of the world, and sat down amid loud applause.

A collection was then made and a hymn sung.

Mr. S. D. WADDY, M.P., moved the second resolution as follows:—

This meeting rejoices to learn that five missionaries have gone out into the field during the year, and that thus the missions in China and in Italy have been materially strengthened. It offers its sympathy to the brethren who, through ill-health, have been compelled to retire from active work, and to the bereaved relatives of those whom God has called to the home above. It fervently prays that "the Lord of the harvest would thrust forth more labourers into His harvest," and that the sacrifice and consecration which this blessing will devolve upon the churches may be abundantly manifested.

He said that the tone of the resolution was joy at success. Five more missionaries had gone out, showing that their missions had extended, but they needed to be extended yet more. Retirements had taken place, but not from lethargy, apathy, nor lack of work. The great fact of that society, and of other societies, was that there was success, and that that success was Divine, and hence, over and above all, the responsibility of the churches deepens, intensifies, and increases. Christianity meant missions, and, looking at the grand results of Christianity through the centuries, who could say that it was a failure. (Hear, hear.) There was an idea abroad that civilisation was merely the result of education, but they believed that all the elements thereof lay in the gift of God in Jesus Christ. He had given them the men whose names shone as the stars of the firmament, who had left home and friends to go to preach the Gospel to the heathen. It was God also who gave the Christian army and put it in their hearts to support those missions, and opened up the various parts of the earth for them to work in. It was God's work throughout, and not man's; and therefore their responsibility was increased, and they dare not cease working. The fact of their success in the past required them to go on. China was open to them, and Italy and India, and he called on them to go forward. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN announced that the collection amounted to 196*l.* 1s. 2d., including 50*l.* from the chairman, and that Mr. Spurgeon and another friend had made up the amount to 200*l.* (Applause.)

The Rev. J. SMITH, of Delhi, said he had been thinking of the favoured position which Great Britain occupied as the missionary centre of the world. No country, he thought, had greater claim upon their sympathies than India, which for thousands of years had been trampled upon by enemies from east to west. India knew no security until Great Britain went there. They had now the best government there the world in similar circumstances ever knew. Just remember the great men who had governed there, Lawrence, Edwardes, Montgomery, Havelock, Nicholson, and others, every one of them godly men, which was the secret of their power. Sydney Smith's snarling statements spoke the opinion of the world on missions. The first missionaries little knew the work they were entering upon. When Carey went to India it was impossible for him to convey one spiritual idea to the people, for the language was steeped in idolatrous notions. A large amount of preparatory work had to be done before it was possible to convey the Gospel to them. They had entered into the labours of their forefathers. Now the people understood them. Each former invader had foisted their religion upon the people at the point of the bayonet. Buddhism by force had spread itself through the length and breath of the land, but was afterwards swept away by Brahmaism. After that came the Moguls and Persians, and for the propagation of their faith forty millions of the people of India had been put to death. They thought the British conquerors would do the same, and at one time he could not enter a village. Now that was all passed away, for they knew that Christianity appealed to the judgment and reason and must be received by the heart and the understanding. The speaker referred to other difficulties which they had to contend with at first and to the altered conditions under which they now laboured and to their success in preaching the simple Gospel of Christ in Delhi and other places. No language could describe the state of preparedness of India for the Gospel. They tried to make every single convert a preacher of the Gospel to their own countrymen, and induced them to build their own chapels. The speaker concluded with an appeal to young men to devote themselves to missionary work. They wanted an outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and India would be the Lord's.

A hymn was then sung and the benediction pronounced by the Rev. J. T. Brown.

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SUMMER TERM, from MAY 1 to JULY 31.

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VICE-MASTER—

Rev. ROBERT HARLEY, F.R.S., F.R.A.S., Corresponding Member of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, Member of the London Mathematical Society, formerly Professor of Mathematics and Logic in Airedale College, Bradford, &c.

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LADY RESIDENT—Miss COOKE.

The SUMMER TERM commences THURSDAY, May 3rd, 1877.

For Prospectuses and further information, apply to the Head Master, at the School, or to the Secretary, the Rev. R. H. MARTEN, B.A., Lee, S.E.

CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

Chairman—HENRY RICHARD, Esq., M.P.

The FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING of this Union will be held on the 7th, 8th, and 11th days of MAY.

MONDAY, 7th MAY.

The Annual Meeting for Business will be held in the MEMORIAL HALL.

The Report for the year will be submitted for adoption, and the Chairman, Committee, and Officers for the ensuing year elected.

The Chair will be taken at 6.30 p.m. Tea provided at 5.30 p.m.

TUESDAY, 8th MAY.

The Assembly will meet in WESTMINSTER CHAPEL at 9.30 a.m. when, after a Devotional Service,

1. The Chairman will deliver the Inaugural Address.
2. The Report of the Special Committee on Intemperance will be submitted, with a resolution commending it to the candid consideration of the Churches, moved by Wm. Crosfield, Jun., Esq., Liverpool, and seconded by the Rev. Wm. Cuthbertson, of Bishop Stortford.
3. The resolution on the Opium Traffic, postponed from the Autumnal Meeting of last year, will be moved by the Rev. J. F. B. Tinling, B.A. (Reading), and seconded by the Rev. T. Gilfillan, of Croydon.
4. THE GOVERNMENT BURIALS BILL.—It will be proposed that a petition, based on the resolutions adopted by the Committee, and already published, be presented to the House of Commons, and signed on behalf of the Union by the Chairman.

[The resolution on the Burials Bill may be postponed till Friday morning.]

FRIDAY, 11th MAY.

The Assembly will meet in the MEMORIAL HALL at Ten a.m.

It is intended that as much as possible of the time of this Session shall be devoted to a consideration of the aggressive work of the Churches.

Papers will be read—1. By the Rev. J. A. Macfadyen, M.A., "On the demand for systematic and energetic aggressive work on the part of the Churches in view of their loyalty to Christ, and of the spiritual condition of the people both in towns and rural districts." 2. By the Rev. John Foster, London, "On the importance of Evangelistic and aggressive work being connected with and controlled by the Churches."

It is hoped that Members of the Union, who are specially connected with aggressive work, or who have special information with regard to it, will be prepared to take part in the discussion.

(Such other business will be taken as may be reported upon by the Committee of Reference.)

A Public Meeting for the Exposition and Enforcement of Free Church Principles in Relation to Questions of the Day will be held in the Memorial Hall at Half-past Six p.m. Chairman—J. Barran, Esq., M.P. Addresses will be delivered by the Revs. D. Jones Hamer, Manchester; J. Guinness Rogers, B.A., London; and Alexander Mackennal, B.A., Bowdon.

ALEXANDER HANNAY, Secretary.

The Galleries will be open to the public for the Tuesday and Friday Sessions.

CONGREGATIONAL UNION of ENGLAND and WALES.

At a Meeting of the Committee of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, held on Tuesday, May 1st, the following RESOLUTIONS were unanimously adopted:—

That this Committee, retaining the opinions expressed in its Resolution of September last, relative to the Atrocities committed by Turkish Troops in Bulgaria, and to the misrule of which they were the symptoms, heartily rejoices to learn that Mr. Gladstone purposes to ask the sanction of Parliament to a policy by which, while the peace of Europe is conserved, the influence of the British Crown will be "employed with a view to the early and effectual development of local liberty and practical self government in the disturbed Provinces of Turkey, by putting an end to the oppression which they now suffer, without the imposition upon them of any foreign dominion."

That this Committee assures Mr. Gladstone of its hearty sympathy, and of its sincere desire for his success in an effort so worthy of his character and statesmanship.

ALEXANDER HANNAY, Secretary.

CONGREGATIONAL TOTAL ABSTINENCE ASSOCIATION.

President—EDWARD BAINES, Esq., Leeds.
Treasurer—SAMUEL MORLEY, Esq., M.P., London.

The ANNUAL MEETING of Members will be held in the MEMORIAL HALL, Farringdon-street, on MONDAY EVENING, May 7th, 1877, at Eight o'clock. The President is expected to preside.

As the Report of the Union Committee on Intemperance is to be presented at Westminster Chapel, on Tuesday, May 8th, no public meeting will be held during the present May Meetings.

At the close of the Westminster Meeting, an important AFTERNOON CONFERENCE of the Members and Friends of the Association will be held at the BOROUGH-ROAD CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, Chair to be taken at Four o'clock.

Refreshments, &c., in the Lecture Hall of the Borough-road Church, from Three till Four o'clock, and the Conference will close in good time for the Home Missionary gathering. The Subscriptions are now due, and should be forwarded to

GEO. M. MURPHY, Hon. Sec.

8, Finchley-road, London, S.E.

EAST FINCHLEY CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

Rev. S. W. McALL, M.A., MINISTER.

The MEMORIAL STONE of the NEW CHURCH will be LAID by SAMUEL MORLEY, Esq., M.P., on SATURDAY, May 12th, at 2.30 p.m., after which a *déjeûner* will be provided in the Lecture Hall, at which Samuel Morley, Esq., M.P., will preside. Revs. H. Allon, D.D., Eustace R. Conder, M.A. (of Leeds), R. W. Dale, M.A. (of Birmingham), J. E. Vaughan, Esq., E. B. Underhill, Esq., LL.D., S. D. Waddy, Esq., Q.C., M.P.; and C. E. Mudie, Esq., will take part in the proceedings of the day.

Tickets, 5s. each, may be had of D. C. Mackinnon, Esq., Hon. Secretary, Ferns-green, London, N.

A Special Train will leave North London Railway (Broad-street) at 2 p.m., calling at Dalston, Canonbury, and all intermediate stations, and arriving at East End, Finchley, in time for the ceremony.

BRITISH SOCIETY for the PROPAGATION of the GOSPEL among the JEWS.

The THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING will be held on TUESDAY EVENING, May 8, in FREEMASONS' HALL, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

The Chair will be taken by Lord ALFRED S. CHURCHILL, at Half-past Six o'clock.

The Revs. A. Edersheim, D.D., Ph.D., W. Cooke, D.D., W. H. Rule, D.D., J. M. Fox, B.A. (of Dudley), R. Taylor, M.A. (of Upper Norwood), and other Gentlemen are expected to address the Meeting.

Tickets at the Office, 96, Great Russell Street, W.C.

BRITISH and FOREIGN SCHOOL SOCIETY.

The SEVENTY-SECOND GENERAL MEETING of this Society will be held on MONDAY, May 7th, 1877, in the LARGE ROOM, Borough-road.

The Chair will be taken by the Right Honourable the Earl GRANVILLE, K.G., at Twelve o'clock.

Tickets may be obtained by application at the Society's House, Borough-road.

ALFRED BOURNE, Secretary.

CHRISTIAN EVIDENCE SOCIETY.

The SEVENTH ANNUAL PUBLIC MEETING will be held (D.V.) at WILLIS'S ROOMS, on MONDAY NEXT, May 7.

The Earl of HARROWBY, K.G., will take the Chair at 3 p.m.

The Bishop of Oxford, the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Edward Jenkins, Esq., M.P., Rev. Canon Miller, D.D., Rev. Dr. Rigg, Rev. W. Boyd Carpenter, and Mr. W. Barnard are expected to address the Meeting.

No Tickets required.

P. BARKER, M.A., Secretary.

2, Duke-street, Adelphi, W.C.

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

ANNIVERSARY SERVICES IN MAY, 1877.

The Directors invite the attention of the Friends of the Society to the following arrangements for the ensuing Anniversary:—

MONDAY, May 7th.

1. Morning.—Prayer Meeting, for one hour, in the Board Room of the Mission House, Blomfield Street, specially to implore the Divine blessing on the several Services of the Anniversary, at Half-past Seven o'Clock.
2. Afternoon.—The Annual Meeting of Directors will be held at the Mission House, Blomfield Street, at Three o'Clock.

WEDNESDAY, May 9th.

1. Morning.—In Christ Church [Rev. Newman Hall's], Westminster Bridge Road, the Annual Sermon will be preached by the Rev. Charles H. Spurgeon. Service to commence at Eleven o'Clock, and not Half-past Ten as formerly.

Admission by Ticket from 10 to 10.45, after which the doors will be opened to the public.

Ministers can have special tickets for reserved front seats in gallery.

2. Evening.—In Westminster Chapel, the Sermon to Young Men and others will be preached by the Rev. Newman Hall, LL.B. Service to commence at Seven o'Clock. [No tickets required.]

THURSDAY, May 10th.

Morning.—The Annual General Meeting of the Members of the Society will be held in Exeter Hall, to appoint a Treasurer, Secretaries, and Directors; and to receive the Annual Report, with Audited Accounts.

The Chair will be taken, at Ten o'Clock, by the Right Hon. the EARL of NORTHBROOK, late Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

Tickets for the Sermon at Christ Church and for the Meeting at Exeter Hall may be obtained at the Mission House, Blomfield Street, London Wall.

LORD'S-DAY, May 13th.

Sermons in the various Metropolitan and Suburban Chapels.—For particulars see "Missionary Chronicle."

ROBERT ROBINSON, Hon. Sec.

Mission House, Blomfield Street, E.C.
27th April, 1877.

IRISH EVANGELICAL SOCIETY.

The SIXTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING of the Irish Evangelical Society will be held in the MEMORIAL HALL, Farringdon-street, on WEDNESDAY EVENING NEXT, May 9th, 1877.

The Chair will be taken by Sir CHARLES REED, the President, at Seven o'clock.

The Rev. W. M. Statham, of Canonbury; Rev. J. Macfadyen, M.A., of Manchester; Rev. Dr David McEwan, Presbyterian Church, Clapham; Rev. William Fox, of Cork, and other Gentlemen, have engaged to take part in the proceedings.

THE HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING will be held in the MEMORIAL HALL, Farringdon-street, on TUESDAY EVENING NEXT, May 8th.

SAMUEL MORLEY, Esq., M.P., will take the Chair at Seven o'clock.

The Rev. H. Batchelor, of Blackheath; W. McArthur, Esq., M.P.; Rev. Dr. McEwan, of Clapham; Rev. Dr. Moffatt; and Rev. Dr. Parker, of the City Temple, have engaged to take part in the proceedings.

NORTH LONDON OR UNIVERSITY COLLEGE HOSPITAL.

The ANNUAL FESTIVAL in aid of the Funds of this Charity will be held at WILLIS'S ROOMS, King-street, St. James's, on WEDNESDAY, the 16th inst.

Sir HENRY THOMPSON in the Chair.

Tickets for the Dinner (One Guinea each), may be obtained from the Stewards, at Willis's Rooms, and at the Office of the Hospital.

CONTRIBUTIONS will be RECEIVED at the Hospital, and by the Bankers, Messrs. Coutts and Co., 59, Strand, and Messrs. Smith, Payne, and Smith, 1, Lombard-street;

And by the Secretary.

Gower-street, May, 1877.

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Mr. W. H. Basden, 92, Cannon-street, E.C.

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7. As the estates purchased will yield a good profit revenue it will have to be considered at what premium the third issue shall be offered to the public, so as to protect the interests of existing shareholders.

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W. H. BASDEN, Secretary,

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VISITORS TO LONDON

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Published by W. R. WILLCOX, at No. 18, Bouverie Street, London; and Printed by R. K. BURT and Co., Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, London.—Thursday, May 3, 1877.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE NONCONFORMIST.

VOL. XXXVIII.—NEW SERIES, No. 1641. LONDON: THURSDAY, MAY 3, 1877. GRATIS.

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS RELATIVE TO THE DISESTABLISHMENT AND DISENDOWMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

[The following paper was read at the Tuesday evening's sitting of the Conference of the Liberation Society. As will be seen it was not discussed, but commended to the consideration of the society's supporters throughout the country.]

I.—INTRODUCTORY.

One of many signs of the recent progress of the movement for disestablishment is the demand which has arisen for information relative to the modes in which disestablishment can, or should, be effected. The abstract principles of State-Churchism have, to a very large extent, been given up by practical politicians; most of whom now acknowledge, willingly or reluctantly, that it is only "a question of time" when the English and Scotch Establishments will be dealt with as the Irish Establishment has been already dealt with by Parliament. Political action, has not, however, kept pace with the growth of conviction. Naturally enough, there is hesitancy on the part of political leaders to enter on a struggle which, though it may not be protracted, may prove severe and trying. And that hesitancy is attributable, in part, to a want of knowledge or of agreement, regarding the leading principles on which a measure of disestablishment should be based. There is a disinclination to take a leap in the dark—even though it be forward, and hence the call for more light becomes louder as the necessity for going forward is increasingly felt.

This is especially the case in respect to the question of *Disendowment*—which, though it has come to be regarded as the inevitable corollary of Disestablishment, is attended with special difficulties, and, for a time, may occasion such differences of opinion as commonly exist in connection with a subject involving many perplexities, and which has not been thoroughly discussed. The immense pecuniary interests at stake in the case of the Church of England form one of the main obstacles in the way of its disestablishment. How is the great estate comprehended in the phrase "Church property" to be dealt with, when there will no longer be a "Church as by law established"? How are the vested rights of individuals, and of bodies, to be recognised, without violating the principles of equity, on the one hand, and without creating new evils and dangers on the other? To what purpose should the surplus property which will be available after claims for compensation have been fully met, be applied), so as to confer the greatest benefits on the nation? These, and similar inquiries, would under any circumstances excite the keenest interest; but certain results of the abolition of the Irish Church Establishment have greatly increased their importance. Some of those who were foremost in promoting that great act of justice towards an injured people declare their unwillingness to assent to the disendowment of the English Church on such terms as those it was thought necessary to accede to in the case of the Irish Church. The mischief done in Ireland may be small; but it is felt that it would not be so in England, where the property held by the Church is so vast, and its re-endowment on a large scale—in the guise of compensation to the members of the disestablished Church—would prove a source of serious and lasting evil.

It was in view of these facts that, at the close of 1874, the Executive Committee of the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State-Patronage and Control resolved to appoint a Special Committee to obtain legal and other information required for the preparation of a scheme of disestablishment, and to offer suggestions which might aid in the framing of such a scheme.

The result of that committee's inquiries and deliberations is contained in the following suggestions. They are offered with a consciousness that they will not meet all the requirements of those at whose instance they have been prepared; or satisfy all the expectations which may have been excited by the announcement that such a work had been undertaken. It would be presumption to express a confident opinion on points which have hitherto been so little considered by the public that they present themselves in various ways to various minds. It is not the business of any organisation to prepare a Disestablishment Bill. *That* is a task which, necessarily, must be devolved on a Government—a Government called into existence for the purpose; and which would be guided in its course by the circumstances of the time, and would have at its disposal all the legal and official resources which only Governments possess, and which will be indispensable for the accomplishment of such a task. An *à priori* measure, framed in advance of the times, and with reference only to abstract principles, would possess a certain degree of speculative interest, but would not commend itself to the judgment of practical politicians. As time elapses, and public knowledge and interest increase, and opinion takes a more definite shape, new methods, or modifications of old methods, will suggest themselves; difficulties formerly thought insuperable may vanish, and changes once regarded as hazardous will be readily assented to.

Although it is believed that these suggestions rest upon a sound basis, they do not profess to be more than hints to aid in the public discussion of a great public question. They are a contribution towards the stock of ideas out of which there will ultimately be evolved a complete scheme, which will commend itself to the judgment of the nation. And, for obvious reasons, it has been thought better to lay down general principles, than to enter into details—the discussion of which might only serve to divert attention from points of greater importance.

It will occasion no surprise to those by whom these suggestions have been proposed to find that they occasion some diversities of opinion, even among those who are at one as to the object at which they aim. It would be more surprising if it were otherwise. The advantages accruing from a thorough investigation of the subject will exceed any harm which may arise from the conflicting opinions of friends. Nor will it be a serious consequence if opponents easily detect apparent, and even real, inconsistencies in some of these suggestions. They would probably be but of small practical value if they were symmetrical in form, and mercilessly logical, but, at the same time, disregarded the tendency of all English legislation to sacrifice merely theoretical considerations, that it may mitigate the rigours of inevitable change, and deal generously, as well as justly, with vested interests of every kind. Some will think that concessions are pushed too far; while others may object that they do not go far enough. There will, in some cases, be a wish to insist on what is desirable, rather than on what is possible; and there will be room for doubt as to the limits within which action should be guided by principle, or by expediency. A conflict of opinion on such points need not be deprecated. It is one of the means by which substantial agreement may be eventually secured. The movement against Church Establishments has always been carried on in the light of day; and it is because the individual judgment of the advocates of religious equality has been allowed full play that they constitute, at the present moment, a disciplined and confessedly formidable force.

II.—DISESTABLISHMENT AS DISTINGUISHED FROM DISENDOWMENT.—THE IRISH CHURCH ACT.

1. As a set-off against the difficulties already adverted to, the advocates of disestablishment possess the great advantage of being able to point to an important precedent. Up to 1869 the Church of Ireland was established in precisely the same way as the Church of England is now established; but in that year it was enacted that "on and after the 1st day of January, 1871, the union created by Act of Parliament between the Churches of England and Ireland shall be dissolved, and the said Church of Ireland" "shall cease to be established by law (Clause 2 of Irish Church Act)." Whatever complaints have since been made respecting the Act which abolished the Irish Establishment have related only to those portions of it which relate to disendowment. As a measure of disestablishment simply, the Irish Act is as complete, and, it is believed, has worked as satisfactorily, as could have been expected. In regard to some details, experience may have suggested improvements; but it may be safely assumed that, whenever, and by whom, the English Church is disestablished, the precedent set by the Irish Act will, so far as the disestablishing clauses are concerned, be, in the main, followed.

2 That Act provided that, on and after January 1, 1871, (1) the Church of Ireland should cease to be established by law; (2) every ecclesiastical corporation, whether sole or aggregate, and every cathedral corporation, should be dissolved; (3) the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts should cease, and the ecclesiastical law of Ireland be repealed; (4) and that the Irish bishops should no longer sit in the House of Lords. All new appointments to offices in the Church were prohibited immediately on the passing of the Act.

To provide the machinery for carrying the Act into effect, there was appointed, for a period of ten years, a body entitled "the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland"; to whom was given full power to decide all questions, whether of law or fact. On the passing of the Act all the property in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of Ireland was transferred to these commissioners. On Jan. 1, 1871, all the other property of the Church—of whatever kind—also became vested in the commissioners. The Act gave instructions to the commissioners in regard to their mode of dealing with the property; authorised them to compensate the bishops and clergy, and other office-holders, in a prescribed manner; and contained directions for the disposition of the churches, parsonages, and glebes, and private endowments. It also contemplated the formation of a "Church Body," and for the transfer to it of a portion of the property. It is some of these provisions of the measure which have been the subject of unfavourable criticism, and it is in regard to these that the following suggestions relative to the English Establishment propose, in some essential respects, to depart from both the principles and the details of the Irish Church Act.

III.—DISESTABLISHMENT AT A FIXED PERIOD.

3. It will be seen from the foregoing statement that, while nearly a year and a-half was allowed to the Irish Church to prepare for the change, the process of disestablishment was not gradual, but took place at a fixed period, viz, Jan. 31, 1871. That particular proposal was accepted without opposition, and, so far as is known, it has not since been the subject of complaint on the part of the members of the Irish Church. Objection has, however, been made in some quarters to the adoption of the same method in England. The objection is urged with a view to avoiding some of the difficulties of compensation. "Let the existing bishops and clergymen," it is said, "remain where they are, and retain their emoluments till death, and then no compensation will be needed, and there will be a gradual extinction of rights and privileges." The answer is, that this would postpone the completion of disestablishment for a whole generation; while State supervision would still be needed to ensure the discharge of episcopal and clerical duties. The members of the disestablished church would suffer the great disadvantage of having to work under a double system; being disestablished in some parishes, and established in others. This would make the reorganisation of the Church impossible, and would lead to confusion which would be embarrassing to the State, and absolutely ruinous to the Church. It might avoid one difficulty; but it would create a hundred others. It may, therefore, be confidently assumed that the Legislature will fix the time of disestablishment in England, as it did in Ireland, and the suggestions now made are based upon that assumption.

IV.—TO WHOM COMPENSATION IS TO BE GIVEN.

4. It is of cardinal importance to recognise the fact that, whatever the Church of England may be ecclesiastically, it is not one great corporation, holding property, and exercising authority, as such, but consists of a number of corporations. What is called "Church property" is "simply the property of the several local churches, the ecclesiastical corporations, sole and aggregate, bishops, chapters, rectors, and vicars, or any other. The Church of England, as a single body, has no property." ("Disestablishment and Disendowment," by E. A. Freeman, D.C.L., LL.D., p. 11). Nor have these corporations any proprietary rights apart from the arrangements made by the State for the exercise of their ecclesiastical functions. These "local churches" and "ecclesiastical corporations, sole and aggregate," hold, and administer, property on behalf of the State, and constitute part of the machinery by which it carries on the ecclesiastical work which it has undertaken in connection with a Church Establishment.

The fact was, that materially and legally speaking, there was no such thing as the Church of England. There was an aggregate of corporations sole which had certain churches vested in them, but no body of the Church of England was in possession of land. He, as a bishop of England, was a corporation sole, and he got a certain income, which was secured to him by law. Every rector or vicar, and every cathedral chapter [?]. was, in the same way, a corporation sole, and each had his income secured: but the Church, as an aggregate of these corporations sole, had no property."—*Speech of the Bishop of Manchester at Dewsbury, December* 2, 1876.

"Everything connected with the Church is subject to the law. The law defines the statutes of its clergy, fixes their duties, and controls their action. There is no ecclesiastical corporation of the Church of England: its clergy are officers of the State, with their duties clearly defined by the State.—*Letter of Canon Bulstrode, of Ely, to the "Manchester Examiner," February* 6, 1877.

5. The Church, as by law established, being a national organisation for ecclesiastical purposes, its adherents, in an ecclesiastical sense, have no other pecuniary rights in connection with it than are possessed by the rest of the nation. Hence only the bishops, clergy, and other individuals having, by virtue of their office, a special beneficiary interest in the Establishment, together with the owners of advowsons and next presentations, will be entitled to compensation on its abolition. Though an Episcopal Church may afterwards be organised on a different basis, when disestablishment is determined on, there will be no body having a legal existence capable of either claiming or receiving compensation.

V.—MODE OF COMPENSATION.

When the Church of England is disestablished,

no legal impediments should prevent Episcopalians organising themselves as members of a religious community, or communities, and managing their own affairs. For that purpose, they should possess the same legal facilities as are possessed by other religious bodies; but no facilities should be granted which would re-create a privileged ecclesiastical body.

6. The Irish Church Act repealed all laws which prevented the Church holding synods, and "making regulations for the general management and good government of the Church" (sec. 19.). But it did not stop there; for, first it authorised Her Majesty to incorporate by charter a "Church body," appointed by the members of the Church to represent it, and to hold property on its behalf (sec. 22). That Act also provided for the compensation of the clergy on the assumption that they would continue in connection with the Church, and not only re-endowed the Church directly, by the payment to the Church body of half a million of money, as compensation for the loss of private endowments (sec. 29), and the transfer of churches, parsonages, and glebes, but still further endowed it indirectly, by providing that the commutation of clerical annuities should be a transaction between the clergy and the Church body, and by holding out an inducement to general commutation in the shape of a bonus of 12 per cent. on the commutation money, if three-fourths of the whole number in any diocese commuted (sec. 23).

7. Another source of mischief in the Irish Act was the provision that the former incomes of the disestablished ecclesiastics were to be paid to them not only so long as they lived, but on the condition that they continued to discharge such duties as they had been accustomed to discharge, or such duties as might be substituted for them, with their own consent, and that of the representative body of the Church (secs. 14 & 15). Lastly, while one clause of the Act abolished the ecclesiastical courts, and declared that after January 1st, 1871, "the ecclesiastical law of Ireland, except in so far as relates to matrimonial causes and matters, shall cease to exist as law" (sec. 21), another clause enacted that "the present ecclesiastical law of Ireland, and the present articles, doctrines, rites, rules, discipline, and ordinances of the said Church," should, subject to any alterations which might be made, "be deemed to be binding on the members for the time being thereof," in the same manner as if they had mutually contracted to observe the same, and, should be capable of being enforced in the temporal courts in relation to any property possessed under the Act; provided that no annuitant should be deprived of his annuity if he signified his dissent from any alteration within a month after the making thereof (sec. 20).

8. It is to the operation of these several provisions that there may be traced all those scandals relating to the manufacture of curates, and to "commuting, compounding, and cutting" on the part of the Irish ecclesiastics generally, which have created, in many minds, the feeling that it would be better not to disestablish the Church of England at all than to do so on terms resembling those of the Irish Act.*

9. There is only one way of avoiding a repetition of such abuses, viz.: the adoption of the principle that, in the payment of compensation for loss of income, offices, or vested rights, the State *should deal only with the individuals concerned*, and not with any body acting on behalf of the members of the disestablished church, or with any ecclesiastical corporation which has been dissolved by the Act of Disestablishment. The Irish method was based on the principle that "it would be proper to continue to impose on the clergy those conditions on which they now held their office and emoluments, and that they should continue to perform their duties," as a condition of receiving compensation from the State.† It is suggested that this method should be reversed in the case of England, and that all the holders of ecclesiastical office in the Establishment should be released from obligation to the State to discharge their present duties, and that they should be dealt with in the same way as other public officials whose services are no longer required by the State.

10. If this principle be adopted, it will be necessary—on both equitable and financial grounds—in fixing the compensation to be paid to individuals, to have regard to the fact, that their further services will, so far as the State is concerned, be no longer required. They will have been deprived of offices held by a secure tenure, and will be entitled to compensation for such deprivation. But they will be free to contract any obligations, in connection with an Episcopal, or any other, Church organised by voluntary arrangements. There will be freedom on all sides; without the embarrassments which must be occasioned by the compulsory connection with a new system of men habituated to one which has been abolished.

> In determining the compensation to be given to the clergy, it will also be essential to have regard to their age, as well as to the fact that they will be released from their present obligations. For example, an incumbent who is seventy years old, or upwards [or such other age as might be fixed], might continue to receive his present net income. If thirty-five, or less, he might receive one-half; and if between thirty-five and seventy a proportionate amount. This would show full consideration for the aged clergy; while recognising the different position of the younger men.
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> The Bishops Resignation Act (32 and 33 Vict. cap. III.) gives bishops who retire, because of age, or infirmity, one-third of their income, or £2,000 a-year, if that proportion does not amount to so much.
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> While provision might be made for gratuities to curates, in cases where they are deemed to be entitled to compensation, no curate should be so entitled who has become such after a date to be fixed by the Act.

11. The principle of commutation is not objectionable in itself; but may be adopted with advantage to both individuals and the State. The commutation might be effected by the payment of either a capital sum, or of an annuity for life. If it be objected that the general commutation of the clerical annuities would require funds far in excess of those at first derivable from the ecclesiastical property available for the purpose, such a difficulty could be met by the issue of bonds for the payment of the annuities due to individuals, and the sale or transfer of such bonds could be legalised. This would place the annuitants in an advantageous position, and relieve the State from any financial embarrassment. The clergy should also be at liberty to hand over to any church they may select the amounts which they might receive from commutation; but it would, in that case, be in the nature of a private transaction, and involve no responsibility on the part of the State.

> The borrowing powers given to the commissioners would enable them to obtain whatever funds might be temporarily required to pay capital sums to the clergy for compensation.

12. Neither the members of the corporate bodies which would be dissolved by disestablishment, nor public officers, or other persons, in whom patronage is vested on behalf of the public, will be entitled to compensation for the loss of the patronage they have been accustomed to exercise. Private patrons, and others who can dispose of their patronage rights by gift, sale, or bequest at their own pleasure, are in a different position. If it be objected that private patronage, equally with public patronage, is a sacred trust, and not a property, it may be answered that—notwithstanding the existence of laws against simony—the Legislature has distinctly sanctioned the sale of advowsons. It did so when the municipal corporations were reformed, and were directed to sell their patronage. It has done so more recently, in passing the Lord Chancellor's Augmentation Act (26 and 27 Vict., cap. 120), which authorised the sale of small livings in the gift of the Lord Chancellor, that the proceeds might be applied to enhance the value of the livings. Since that Act came into operation (Nov. 1, 1863), 222,759*l.* have been paid by the purchasers of these livings; and for the Legislature now, on moral grounds, to deny to them some compensation for the loss of what they have purchased would be an act of injustice. Rightly or wrongly, Church patronage in private hands has been treated, both by law and usage, as property, of which the holders cannot equitably be deprived without an equivalent.

> The Scotch Church Patronage Act of 1874, which gives to congregations the power to choose ministers, compensates the patrons, by giving to them a sum not exceeding the amount of one year's stipend; which is to be paid out of the minister's stipend, in four annual sums. In Scotland patronage is less frequently sold, and is less valuable, than in England.

VI.—DISPOSAL OF BUILDINGS.

13. Both ancient and modern buildings, as well as all endowments, now appropriated to the use of the National Church must be regarded as national property, at the disposal of the State. It would not, however, be consonant with public feeling to act strictly on this principle, however logically defensible. It may, therefore, be assumed that, in the disposal of the property now devoted to ecclesiastical uses, regard will be had to the voluntary origin of many recent churches and endowments.

14. With such exceptions as may be determined on, the cathedrals, abbeys, and other monumental buildings should be under national control, and be maintained for such uses as Parliament may, from time to time, determine. Provision should be made for the retention, for public use, or else for the disposal, of the bishop's palaces, and also of the buildings in the nature of appendages to the cathedrals. The educational endowments and other charities connected with the cathedrals should be separately dealt with for the national benefit.

15. In all cases parochial burial-grounds attached to churches should be transferred to some parochial body, for the continued use of the parishioners, who should have equal rights therein.

16. Proprietary churches should remain in the hands, or be at the disposal of, the present proprietors.

17. All churches existing at the date of the passing of the first of the Church Building Acts (1818) should be deemed to be ancient parish churches.

> The date of the first of the Church Building Acts is suggested as the line of division between the ancient and modern churches, because the church building movement, which is one of the characteristics of the present century, commenced at that time. According to the census of religious worship of 1851, only 55 churches were built from 1801 to 1811, and but 97 were built from 1811 to 1821; whereas 2,140 were built from 1821 to 1851. It is estimated that the 2,529 churches built from 1801 to 1851 cost 9,087,000*l.*; of which 1,663,429*l.* came from public funds.
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> Mr. Horace Mann (see census of 1851) estimated that, allowing for defective returns, the number of church edifices in England and Wales was about 16,000, of which 2,560 have been consecrated within the last forty years, and 4,210 from the beginning of the century to the end of 1873.

18. Ancient churches (as defined in Sec. 17) should be vested in a parochial board, to be elected by the ratepayers, which board should have power to deal with them for the general benefit of the parishioners, in such ways as it may determine. The power of sale, at a fair valuation, and under proper regulations, should also be given.

19. Churches erected after the date already named, which have been built at the sole expense of any person who may be living at the date of disestablishment, should, on his application, be vested in him, or in such persons as he may appoint.

20. Churches (other than parochial churches which have been rebuilt) erected after the date named, by means of voluntary subscriptions exclusively—and also churches not claimed under the above-named provision—should become the property of the existing congregations, and be held in trust for their use. If, within a given time, such churches be not accepted on behalf of the congregations, they should vest in the parochial board, and be dealt with as ancient churches.

21. Churches built after the date named, which have been erected partly by subscriptions, and partly from Parliamentary grants and other public sources, should in like manner be offered to the congregations; but the amount so derived from public sources should be a charge upon the building, to be paid, or redeemed, in accordance with regulations made by commissioners under the Disestablishment Act.

> Two objections are likely to be taken to the proposal to hand over the modern churches to the existing congregations; as well as to the subsequent proposal to deal in the same manner with the modern endowments.
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> The first objection will take the form of an inquiry. How can property be vested in an undefined and fluctuating body, such as a congregation? The question is really one to be answered by professional persons, and the professional advice received on this point justifies the assertion that there is no insuperable difficulty in defining a congregation, and in determining the modes in which property may be held in its behalf. The problem has, in fact, been already solved, both in this and other countries. This will be seen by reference to the following:—1, The Statutes (63 to 69) of the disestablished Church in Ireland; 2, The Statute Law of various American States (see Tyler's American Ecclesiastical Law, 1866, Vol. I., p. 60); 3, The Act for abolishing Patronage in the Church of Scotland, 1876; 4, The Compulsory Church-Rate Abolition Act, 1868 (Sec. 9).
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> The other objection may take this form. The proposal recognises only the existence, and interests, of congregations, and ignores the Church. But who are most concerned in the matter—the persons who have been accustomed to worship in the churches, and have had the benefits of the endowments hitherto, or a vague, intangible body designated "the Church"? In the Act of Disestablishment it will be the duty of the State, not to legislate in the interest of the Church of England, or of any church, but to make compensations and concessions in the way which will best prevent the infliction of injustice and loss where they will be palpably and directly felt. It would do this by giving liberty of choice and action to the congregations of Episcopalians, for whose use the churches and the endowments exist. On the other hand, the greatest possible disservice might be done to them by handing over the property created for their use to an institution to which they might not wish to belong, or to some of the regulations of which they might strongly object.
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> The method here proposed would not prevent the congregations uniting themselves with an Episcopal Church, constituted by voluntary arrangements, and even transferring to a representative Church body the property placed at their disposal by Parliament. Such transactions, however, should be transactions between the congregations and the Church, and not between the Church and Parliament. The Legislature has no right to assume that all Episcopalians will, throughout all time, constitute but one Church; neither ought it, either by bribes or by legal compulsion, continue to bind the Church of England together as it now does by the still more cohesive forces of an Establishment. It will be seen that these suggestions, while they would leave a considerable amount of Church property in the hands of Episcopalians, recognise the right of congregations, and of the inhabitants of particular localities, to determine for themselves their future ecclesiastical relationships.

* The clergy of a great church have commuted their annuities to be paid to them in virtue of the services which they were to render to that Church, and have compounded for those annuities with the representative body; putting the difference in their pockets, and in many cases deserting their charges and carrying their money with them to England, to the colonies, to foreign countries, and I am told even in some cases into a hostile communion.—*Speech of Mr. Edward Jenkins, M.P., in the House of Commons*, 1875.

† Speech of Mr. Chichester Fortescue.

VII.—MODERN ENDOWMENTS.

22. If an endowment—whether it includes a parsonage or not—has been created by a private individual, and he be living at the date of disestablishment, the commissioners should, on his application, vest the same in him, or in such other person or persons as he may appoint. Any parsonage so reconveyed should be subject to the provision in Section 26.

23. Where endowments have been created, by voluntary subscriptions exclusively, since the date of the first of the Church Building Acts (1818), they should become the property of the existing congregations, and be held for their use. Endowments not reconveyed under Section 22 should, in like manner, become the property of the congregations (See note as to congregations, following Section 21.)

24. Where such endowments have been created partly by subscriptions, and partly from national sources, the amount of the latter should be deducted, and should form part of the surplus.

25. The endowments dealt with under Sections 22, 23, 24 should be charged with the annuities paid as compensation to the clergymen who have been the recipients of such endowments.

VIII.—PARSONAGES AND GLEBES.

26. As the annual value of the parsonages and glebes would be included in the estimate of the incomes of the clergy, the pecuniary interest of the clergy in them would cease, and this part of the property would be dealt with by the commissioners in the same way as the other surplus property coming into their hands. The subject, however, is one involving more than pecuniary interests, and a proposal to eject the inmates of all the parsonages in the country—even with compensation—would be regarded as a harsh proceeding, and as inflicting undeserved suffering on the clergy and their families. That would be avoided, and ample time be afforded for making charges without personal inconvenience, by allowing the existing incumbents to occupy their parsonages so long as they continue to be ministers of the churches in which they now officiate; but, of course, on payment of rent, according to the valuation adopted in settling their claims for compensation. Whether an existing incumbent should continue minister of the church in which he was officiating at the time of disestablishment would depend on the arrangement made by the congregation, acting as such, or in connection with any religious organisation with which it might determine to connect itself.

IX.—MISCELLANEOUS.

27. The Irish Church Act provided for the sale of tithe-rent charge to the owners of land on the payment of 22½ years' purchase; and an English Act should contain similar provisions. The power of levying church-rates, in any form, should also cease; provision being made for extinguishing debts, or for meeting other claims, for which compulsory rates may still be levied. Easter dues and other minor ecclesiastical impositions, which are either small in amount, or vexatious in their character, should be abolished. Special arrangements would also be required to relieve the inhabitants of corporate towns, such as Liverpool, and of parishes, such as Marylebone, who have to pay large sums out of municipal or parochial rates to maintain churches, and to provide incomes for the clergy officiating in them.

X.—DISPOSAL OF SURPLUS PROPERTY.

28. It is not essential that these suggestions should answer the oft-repeated inquiry—"What will you do with the surplus?" and there are several reasons why it is not at present desirable to do so. It is not incumbent on those who advocate disestablishment and disendowment, to prescribe the purposes to which the realised funds shall be appropriated. Those who agree as to the first, may naturally differ as to the second. As a matter of fact, while the Irish Church has been disestablished the Legislature has yet to determine what use shall be made of the surplus. A particular disposition of it was proposed; but it occasioned diversity of opinion, and was wisely abandoned. When the English Church is disestablished there may be no considerable surplus available for years to come. When that surplus becomes a reality, instead of existing in imagination only, the nation will decide on its appropriation with reference to the wants and feelings of the period, and is not likely to be bound by proposals made years before. The surplus may be devoted to education—to the maintenance of the poor—to effecting great sanitary improvements—to the reduction of the national debt, or to other objects of a secular character, which would be beneficial to the whole nation. It may, however, be suggested that, inasmuch as a large portion of the property now devoted to ecclesiastical purposes belongs to the parishes, such portions of it as Parliament may from time to time determine should be applied to local objects, and be administered by municipal and other local authorities.

CONCLUSION.

29. It has been already stated that these suggestions are not to be regarded as an exhaustive statement of the various points which would require to be dealt with in connection with the disestablishment of the English Church. It is necessary to add that there are also subjects which, though popularly associated with such a change, have no necessary connection with it. The most important of these is, the succession to the Crown, under what is known as the Act of Settlement. The exclusion of members of the Roman Catholic Church from the throne of Great Britain is a political, quite as much as an ecclesiastical question, and must be dealt with on its own merits. It was left untouched when the Irish Establishment was abolished, and may, in like manner, be left untouched when those of England and Scotland are disestablished also.

30. There are also minor questions—such as the laws relating to Sunday observance—the appointment of army and gaol chaplains, &c., which are equally distinct from the objects which would be properly aimed at in a Disestablishment Act. Such an Act would have for its object the putting an end to the State machinery which regulates the affairs of a Church now established by law. How far the principle involved in such an Act should be applied in other directions, might be matter for subsequent consideration; but need not, and ought not, to be imported into the discussion of the perfectly separate issues raised by the pending controversy.

PRESENTATION TO DR. UNDERHILL.

At the annual members' meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society last year, a committee was appointed to undertake the work of arranging for a suitable presentation to Dr. Underhill on his retirement from the secretariat of the mission. It was also decided that a portrait of the Doctor and of the Rev. F. Trestrail should be placed in the Mission House. On Wednesday morning last, a breakfast was given in the library of the Mission House for the purpose of making the presentation. There was a large and influential gathering, including many ladies. The chair was occupied by Joseph Tritton, Esq., the treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN explained that when Mr. Trestrail seven years ago retired from office, it was their privilege to present him with a testimonial of the love and regard of the brethren, and that testimonial would receive a supplement in another shape that morning. Now that Dr. Underhill, after twenty-seven years' devoted service to their beloved society and to the cause of Christ, had retired, they had desired that some substantial token of their regard should be given to him.

The Rev. J. P. CHOWN, in a few well-chosen and affectionate words, on behalf of the subscribers presented to the treasurer of the Missionary Society the two oil portraits. He said that when a year ago Dr. Underhill determined upon relinquishing the office which he had so long held, and when it appeared that no consideration could prevail upon him to alter his decision, it was felt that he could not be allowed to retire without their testifying their sense of appreciation of his work. As soon as the idea of the portraits was mooted the golden gifts were promptly forthcoming, and these were accompanied by words of sympathy far more precious.

The portraits were at this point unveiled by the secretaries, Messrs. Bailhache and Baynes. They were greatly and universally admired.

The CHAIRMAN, on behalf of the society, in accepting in trust these valuable gifts, said that they would occupy a place in the house along with other portraits of honoured brethren some of whom have fallen asleep and others continue to this day. Much as they valued the representations of their two brethren, they were nothing to the reality, and he hoped the day would be very far distant when the originals would cease to be seen among them.

The Rev. C. M. BIRRELL read the resolution of the annual members' meeting in 1876, expressive of the appreciation in which Dr. Underhill's services had been held. When they considered that Dr. Underhill had conducted the affairs of that institution in all its departments, had been present at its committees, had prepared a comprehensive and clear statement of its business, had maintained throughout the country in its freshness the interest of the churches in their missionary work by appearing in their pulpits and on their platforms—for he did both—carrying on through all these years a correspondence with all their missionaries in their respective fields of labour, and in addition to this, had paid personal visits to those fields, bringing home from the various stations minute information which had proved to be a perfect treasure to the committee—when they considered all this, it made them all grateful to him. They felt that the resolution referred to needed a suitable habitation in which it could be preserved, and it had been provided in the beautiful casket which would now be uncovered. Mr. Birrell then proceeded minutely to describe the casket, which was of fine gold, of the Cinque-Cento style, and manufactured by Mr. J. W. Benson. The centre panel of the reverse side bears the inscription in blue enamel, "Presented to Edward Bean Underhill, Esq., LL.D., in commemoration of distinguished service as Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society from 1849 to 1876." The obverse side contains a delicately carved view, in ivory, of Benares. In the pilasters of the casket are introduced the sugar canes, Indian corn, the vine, and bamboo. At the four corners are beautifully carved figures, in ivory, representing natives of Brittany, Jamaica, China, and India. The cover of the casket is surmounted by a globe, festooned with a wreath of flowers, a flying dove on the summit.

The Rev. JAMES SMITH, of Delhi, then presented Dr. Underhill with an album containing the photographs of the Indian missionaries and their families, prefaced by an illuminated address written in India by the missionaries, and which testified to the remembrance of the many services he had rendered to the mission in India, and to the cordial relations which had always existed between them throughout his term of office. Mr. Smith at some length, and very effectively dwelt upon the nature of Dr. Underhill's work, and referred especially to the special and distinguished services he had rendered the cause of missions in India in times of critical importance.

Dr. UNDERHILL, who was received with much applause, said that the kind expressions of his brethren who had spoken rendered it exceedingly difficult for him to make any adequate acknowledgment. It could not but be to him a matter of deepest gratitude to God that, on looking back upon the twenty-seven years of his labours, they should be crowned by such expressions of their esteem and goodwill. He then proceeded to give some most interesting reminiscences of those with whom he had been associated in the work of the society during his term of office, and resumed his seat amid much cheering.

The Rev. F. TRESTRAIL, in a few appropriate words, thanked the friends for the honour they had done him in regard to the portrait, in reference to which he said that, if his was a faithful picture, time had not wrought such havoc with him as it had with others of his brethren.

The meeting concluded with prayer offered by the Rev. J. T. Brown, the chairman of the Union.

—*Abridged from the Freeman.*

THE ZENANA MISSION.

Perhaps the most popular of the Baptist anniversaries of last week was the Zenana breakfast. It was held last Friday morning at the Freemasons' Hall as usual, which was well filled by ladies and gentlemen at the early hour of a quarter-to-nine. The work in India is under the kind and generous superintendence in each place of the wives of missionaries. There are agents labouring in Calcutta, Delhi, Benares, Allahabad, Soorie, Serampore, Dacca, and Monghyr, the staff consisting of about eighteen European lady visitors and about thirty-six native teachers and Biblewomen. Nearly 500 women receive religious instruction in these zenanas, and eleven girls' schools, containing about 350 children, are taught by their agents. However, as Dr. Underhill stated in his report, these numbers give but a very inadequate idea of the work done, as there are besides hundreds of women who hear the Scriptures read regularly, but who cannot learn to read at present, and are therefore not included as pupils. The finances of the society are flourishing, the receipts this year amounting to 2,000*l.*—a great improvement on those of last year. And here Dr. Underhill stopped to beg that in future years the contributions might be sent in earlier, in order that the committee might more conveniently plan their work. He also stated that as much as 600*l.* had been raised for building homes for the agents; it being no longer convenient for them to live, as they used to do, at the houses of the missionaries. Dr. Underhill also explained the absence, from indisposition, of the Rev. W. G. Lewis, of Bayswater, who was advertised as one of the speakers. It may be mentioned that the proceedings commenced with singing, the Rev. Mr. Bailhache giving out the hymn, and with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Thomas, of Pontypool. The speech of the chairman, Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., was a powerful argument in favour of the objects of the mission. He spoke as with authority. He had seen the want which the agents of that society were endeavouring to supply. In every department of social life, to say nothing of religious advancement, India must remain behind unless something was done for the education of the women. He described their state as most deplorable, shut out from the beauties of nature, isolated from society, unable to read or write, confined to every day life, and their influence was most depressing, even on the men who were beginning to feel that they could not rise unless the women were better educated. In India he had often to distribute honours to those who had distinguished themselves as scholars, and it was found that the instruction given was really good. Lady Muir had visited the zenanas, and had given him most encouraging reports. The work was, however, one of immense difficulty, as the women could only be reached by their agents. The men were afraid that the women would be bad if they had more power, and they also feared, as there was a great deal of impure literature in India, the women would read that in preference to what was good. The native papers, even the most Conservative, such as the *Hindoo Patriot*, had, however, admitted that the nation that did not educate its daughters was deprived of half its strength. He was glad to see that God was opening the door for them. Even statesmen like Mr. Fawcett had spoken of the importance of the subject, and if they did so, how much more incumbent was it on them as Christians to be active. Dr. Green, as one of the untravelled, expressed the confidence we in England felt in the work. The Rev. W. A. Hobbs, missionary from Soorie, explained the difficulty in getting at the women. He had preached to 460,000 Bengalee men, but never to one Bengalee woman. The Zenana Mission was quite as important as the Baptist Mission, and where it was carried on, the work of the ordinary mission was very much aided. The Rev. James Smith, of Delhi, pleaded that they must do their work slowly. All that they could do was to sow the seed, and for this they required a larger staff, and especially they required ladies with medical knowledge. There were thousands of ladies at home, who had nothing to do, who might be very useful in India. On the motion of Sir Morton Peto, seconded by Mr. Barran, M.P., thanks were voted to Sir W. Muir for presiding, who, in reply, urged upon all present either to go or give. Amongst the donations announced were one of 20*l.* from Mr. Tritton, and of 10*l.* from Sir Robert Lush.

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